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SALLUST'S
CATILINARIAN CONSPIRACY

EDITED BY

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PREFACE.

The text here adopted is that given by Professor H. Jordan, of Königsberg, in his second edition of 1876 (Berlin: Weidmann),—see p. xlvi. ff.

References to the authorities whose names are quoted will be found in the second index. Here I may mention one or two books to which I am especially indebted. The editions of Kritz and Dietsch are well known; not so well known perhaps is the excellent German commentary of Fabri (1845). What fruit the study of Sallust has produced of late years has to be sought chiefly in magazines and reviews. But my obligations are perhaps greatest to Jacobs and Wirz' school edition, and, of smaller school editions, to the pithy little commentary of Schmalz in the *Bibliotheca Gothana*. The compilation of Constans *de Sermone Sallustiano* (Paris, 1880) is of much service,

especially as it gives an account of some papers on points of Sallustian grammar that are not accessible in London.

The references to the Jugurtha and the speeches from the Histories are to Jordan's edition; the references to the fragments, which Jordan does not give, are to Dietsch's edition of 1859—an edition, by the way, useful for its full, if not entirely complete and accurate, index.

I have followed, and even gone farther than, Merivale in making omissions in a few places.

Lastly, I have to thank Prof. Jordan for giving me information as to the readings of the manuscripts in one or two places where I had reason to suspect misprints in his edition; and Prof. Wölfflin for his courtesy in sending me a proof of his note on *Catilinarius,* which is to appear in the *Archiv* for the *Thesaurus.*

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INTRODUCTION.

C. SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS was born in the year 668 (86) at the Sabine town Amiternum[1], of a plebeian family. Of his early life we hear hardly anything; but he no doubt went through the regular course of instruction of the time, and apparently with success, for he was inclined (so he tells us) as a young man to devote himself to literature. The attractions of political life proved however irresistible. After holding the quaestorship, he became tribune of the people in 702, and at once set himself in opposition to Milo and to the Pompeian party in general. In the year 704 he was expelled by the censors from the Senate on the pretext that he was leading a scandalous life. He then betook himself to Caesar's camp, and served in the unsuccessful expeditions against the Pompeian forces in Illyria. In 707 he was restored to the Senate by means of Caesar's influence, by whom he was sent to treat with the mutinous legions in Campania, where he narrowly escaped assassination. He

[1] A movement is now on foot, I believe, at Aquila, near the site of the ancient Amiternum, to erect a statue there, and to establish a library of MSS. inscriptions etc. having to do with Sallust's works.

afterwards followed Caesar to Africa, and apparently did good service there, for he was left in 708 in the new province as proconsul. Sallust returned from Africa in the next year, a very rich man, and built himself the house and laid out the celebrated gardens, where in after years emperors resided. After the murder of Caesar, Sallust, now 42 years of age, determined to abandon politics altogether and to return to the dream of his youth—literature. His first work was the *Catiline* (published in 712?)[2]; the *Jugurtha* followed. His last work was the Five Books of Roman History, of which only fragments survive[3]. He died in 719 or in the following year.

Of Sallust's public career we have only an outline: of particulars of a kind with regard to his private life there is no lack[4]. According to all accounts his

[2] It was certainly written after Caesar's death (in 710), see c. 53. 6 ff.

[3] Most of these fragments are short and incomplete, and often no doubt loosely quoted. The only complete extant fragments are four speeches and two letters:—1. A speech of M. Aemilius Lepidus (father of the triumvir) 'ad populum Romanum' in 676 (78). It is directed against Sulla. 2. A speech of L. Marcus Philippus *ad senatum* in 677, against the above Lepidus. 3. A speech of C. Aurelius Cotta *ad populum* in 679—to quiet the people. 4. A speech of C. Licinius Macer tr. pl. *ad plebem* in 681. 5. A letter of Pompeius *ad senatum* in 679 from Spain. 6. A letter of king Mithridates to king Arsaces in 685.

[4] The best authenticated story against Sallust seems to connect his political hostility to Milo with a private scandal. Gellius (17. 18) *M. Varro in literis atque vita fide homo multa et gravis, in libro, quem scripsit 'Pius aut de pace,' C. Sallustium scriptorem seriae illius et severae orationis, in cuius*

private life was bad. No doubt there is much exaggeration: allowance must be made for party spite, and for the satisfaction which rhetoricians have found in reckless defamation[5]. The truth perhaps may be that Sallust's life was not exceptional for excess in those disturbed times, and that we should not have heard so much about it, if it had not been for the marked contrast between the excuses he makes for himself[6] and his unsparing condemnation of others,

historia notiones censorias fieri atque exerceri videmus, in adulterio ab Annio Milone loris bene caesum dicit, et, cum dedisset pecuniam, dimissum. The story is also mentioned by Servius on Verg. A. 6. 612, and by a scholiast on Hor. Sat. 1. 2. 41, who takes it from Asconius' life of Sallust, which is unfortunately lost.

[5] Lenaeus, a freedman of Pompeius, and after his patron's death a schoolmaster, revenged himself on Sallust, for describing P. as *oris probi animo inverecundo*, with great vigour. (Suet. de Gramm. 15.) What reckless defamation can do is shown by the writer of the invective of Cicero against Sallust, which appears in many editions of Sallust's works.

[6] In what he says of himself however in the prefaces to the Catiline and Jugurtha, Sallust is thinking perhaps rather of literary ornamentation than of autobiographical details, for he is only translating Plato's Seventh Letter. Cp. Νέος ἐγώ ποτε ὢν πολλοῖς δὴ ταὐτὸν ἔπαθον· ᾠήθην εἰ θᾶττον ἐμαυτοῦ γενοίμην κύριος ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς ἰέναι, καί μοι τύχαι τινὲς τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων τοιαίδε παρέπεσον...εἷλκε...με...ἡ περὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ καὶ πολιτικὰ ἐπιθυμία and ἐγὼ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ἔπαθον ὑπὸ νεότητος, and again φερόμενα ὁρῶντα πάντῃ πάντως with C. 3. 3. The imitation is more striking in the Jugurtha, where S. borrows from the same letter further on. The curious sentence— 3. 2 *Vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes* (it must mean 'parents' and not 'subjects'), *quamquam et possis et delicta corrigas, tamen inportunum est, cum praesertim omnes*

between the looseness of his own practice and the severely moral tone of his writings. What right has he, contemporaries may be excused for asking, now that he has taken refuge in his luxurious palace, built on the oppression of the provincials, to scourge the private and public vices of the times?

Something of a consciousness that he was inviting such a retort, of a feeling that he could not say of himself what he puts into the mouth of Cato—*qui mihi atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam fecissem, haud facile alterius lubidini malefacta condonabam*—seems at times to show itself in the hard, sarcastic tone of his writing, a tone rather of violent irritability and disappointment than of genuine moral indignation.

The large infusion of moral reflections and judgments, however, from another and juster point of view, is a very important element in Sallust's work. Such moral reflections were necessary material to a

rerum mutationes caedem fugam aliaque hostilia portendant—clearly comes from πατέρα—ἢ μητέρα οὐχ ὅσιον ἡγοῦμαι προσβιάζεσθαι and βίαν...πατρίδι πολιτείας μεταβολῆς μὴ προσφέρειν, ὅταν ἄνευ φυγῶν καὶ σφαγῆς ἀνδρῶν μὴ δυνατὸν ᾖ γίγνεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. Cp. Plato Crit. 51 c. and Cic. Ep. 1. 9. Jordan observes, that we can no more draw any exact conclusions as to Sallust's antecedents from under the veil which he thus throws over them, than we can infer from Horace's *relicta non bene parmula* anything but that he shared the rout of a defeated army. The two cases are not however quite parallel: the point of Horace's phrase lies in its being a reminiscence of Alcaeus; that S. would have borrowed from this letter unless it had fitted his own case exactly is doubtful. It must be noticed that the § 5 of the 3rd chapter is original in Sallust.

Roman writer who aimed at making historical writing a branch of literature, and this was the aim that Sallust was the first to set before himself and achieve.

The low state of Roman historical writing is often noticed by Cicero[7]. All history, he says, takes its rise in annals, but in Rome it had hardly got beyond its initial stage. Some writers in the past, it is true, had recognized the difference which separates history from annals,—Sempronius Asellio[8], for instance, but he is as tedious and inexperienced as the rest. Take the last and best of the class, Sisenna; his style is an improvement, but it leaves much to desire, and as for his history—it is puerile. In fact *abest historia litteris nostris*, and a Roman cannot read an Herodotus or Thucydides without shame. Sallust did not judge his predecessors so severely. He was not repelled by their bald brevity, nor did he regret, with Cicero, their want of *tractus orationis lenis et aequabilis.* He indeed admired the brevity of Cato, and had some sympathy with the archaic affectation of Sisenna, of whose diligence also he speaks with respect (J. 95. 2). But it is evident (from C. 8) that he too felt that nothing had yet been done by

[7] De Legg. c. 2, de Orat. 2. 12. 51 ff. Brutus 64. 228.

[8] In Gellius 5. 18 *Annales libri tantummodo quod factum quoque anno gestum sit, ea demonstrabant...Nobis non modo satis esse video, quod factum esset, id pronuntiare, sed etiam, quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent, demonstrare...Nam neque alacriores ad rempublicam defendundam, neque segniores ad rem perperam faciundam annales libri commovere quicquam possunt.* He was born about 595 (159).

any Roman writer which would stand beside Thucydides. It was his ambition to supply the want.

That could only be done by offering as complete a contrast to the tedious annalist as possible, and Sallust neglected no means of giving variety to his work. From Thucydides he probably borrowed the idea of his introductions, the imaginary speeches[9], and the character portraits[10]; from Cato the picturesque descriptions of the scenes of historical events, and the ethnographical digressions. And not only with the help of such exterior decorations does Sallust seek to excite interest, but in the handling of the facts of history he is at pains to bring out the general tendencies to which they point, to deduce from the past the causes which have led to the incidents he describes, to pourtray the moral condition of the times, to assign the motives which guided the actors in the drama.

With this abundant superstructure, it is not unnatural that we have often to complain that historical truth and accuracy tend to fall too much in the background, and that Sallust is more of a rhetorician than an historian. That, however, was not an objection

[9] The speeches, which in the Catiline take up almost a quarter of the whole book, in the Jugurtha occupy not more than a sixth. In the Histories, from which we have probably all the speeches, the amount must have been still further reduced.

[10] The portraiture of character is perhaps Sallust's strongest point. The contrasted portraits of Cato and Caesar in the Catiline have seemed to many writers, and not without reason, to form what was intended to be the kernel of the work.

which his contemporaries would have been inclined to urge[11].

Why did Sallust choose the conspiracy of Catiline for a subject? Mainly perhaps for two reasons: 1st, he would not be put to the trouble of consulting authorities, for he had himself as a young man been a spectator of the events (he was 23 at the time of Cicero's consulship), and he could rely to a great extent on his memory, and on what he could learn from the mouths of others. And, 2nd, the subject had been worked up and magnified with such exaggeration by the eloquence of Cicero as to make it just the theme that he wanted[12]. For Sallust's rhetoric delights in strong colours without light and shade, in thick deep strokes. But that Sallust's object was only to clear the memory of Caesar from any connexion with the conspiracy, as Mommsen declares, though there is much to be said for that view[13], is perhaps nevertheless

[11] Quintilian 2. 18. 5 *historiis quod ipsum opus in parte oratoria merito ponimus.* Granius Licinianus, however, an historian in the second century, says *Sallustium non ut historicum puto sed ut oratorem legendum. Nam et tempora reprehendit sua et delicta carpit et contiones inserit et dat in censum loca montes flumina et hoc genus amoena et culte comparat disserendo.*

[12] To the first reason should be added perhaps—the example of Thucydides. The latter reason Sallust gives himself in C. 4. 4, *nam id facinus in primis ego memorabile existumo sceleris atque periculi novitate.*

[13] The theory that the work was intended to serve as an apology for Caesar would be much strengthened if it could be shown that Cicero's *ἀνέκδοτα* (ad Att. 2. 6. 2), or Private Memoirs, was published before Sallust wrote, immediately after

not the truth. One is not inclined to think so ill of him, on the one hand, as to believe that he would willingly have falsified history to that extent, nor so well of him, on the other, as to think, although he had without question a sincere feeling of admiration for Caesar, that his critical and censorious nature would have allowed him to give way to such generous partizanship. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Sallust was in any way behind the scenes, or that he was aware of the occult connexion which, as it is now supposed, Caesar had with the earlier at least of these transactions. He had heard of course the suspicions and charges that were rife, but he, with his prepossessions, is not likely to have credited what was said by Caesar's enemies.

On what sources besides his memory did Sallust rely? From himself we hear nothing except that he had one remark from Crassus' own lips. No doubt Sallust must have read the writings of Cicero that bore on the subject, but it is very doubtful whether he had them before him as he wrote. It is true that one or two phrases remind one of something very like them in Cicero, but these may well be only echoes easily explained by the literary celebrity of Cicero's speeches. Some errors in Sallust's account at any rate can hardly have been made if he had

Caesar's death, for Plutarch (Crass. 13) says *ὁ Κικέρων ἔν τινι λόγῳ φανερὸς ἦν Κράσσῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τὴν αἰτίαν προστριβόμενος, ἀλλ' οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν τελευτήν.* (P. is speaking of the second conspiracy, and is referring to the Memoirs.)

had the invectives against Catiline and the speech for Murena before him[14].

The most obvious mistake is the antedating of the meeting at the house of Laeca. Sallust seems to have fitted it in where it would be useful to himself, without examining the facts of the case[15]. But it is only one instance of the great historical perversion that runs through the whole monograph. Sallust makes no attempt to trace the development of Catiline's schemes. He introduces the conspirator breathing fire and slaughter from the first. Even from the time of Sulla, according to Sallust, Catiline had determined to make himself tyrant. This view, which no doubt the efforts of Cicero had been successful in making the popular view, suited Sallust's taste entirely. But he has not been skilful enough, nor was he unscrupulous enough, to clear away the improbabilities of a treatment which spreads the drama of a few months over a series of years. One cannot in reading Sallust's pages help asking oneself once and again, why, if Catiline's determination was from the first a headlong anarchical plot, he lays such stress on

[14] According to the not improbable statement of Suetonius (de Gramm. 10) a certain Ateius Philologus furnished the facts for Sallust to work up. He provided him *breviario rerum omnium Romanarum ex quibus quas vellet eligeret.* On these probable reminiscences from the Catilinarian invectives see notes on 15. 2; 20. 9; 51. 9; 52. 35.

[15] Sallust felt perhaps that the story was getting improbable—so much vague preparation and so little definite action. It is to explain that that S. makes Catiline complain of his followers' *ignavia*, though it is not clear what they had failed to do.

attaining the consulship, and why there was such delay?

The truth seems to be, that when Catiline came back from Africa to sue for the consulship, his object was merely to pass a few democratic measures, for the relief of debtors for instance, as consul, and then to enrich himself and his friends in the provinces. But as matters went, he was for long the tool in the hands of men of more ability and influence than himself. And it was only at last, under the pressure of repeated disappointment, that the Conspiracy, with its violence, its military preparations, and incendiarism, was formed.

It is not necessary here to recount the whole story of the Conspiracy as we have received it, nor is it desired to discuss the many disputed details, or to attempt to decide between the conflicting views of the character of the movement. But one error of long standing as to the date of the consular Comitia of 691 (63) has been so satisfactorily set right[16] and the correction removes so many improbabilities in the history of the Conspiracy when it reached its acute stage, that a few lines may be usefully devoted to that question.

The orthodox view is that the 21st Oct. was the day originally fixed for the Comitia, and the 28th the

16 By Dr C. John: Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Catilinarischen Verschwörung: ein Beitrag zur Kritik des Sallustius 1876 (reprinted from Jahrbücher f. klass. Philologie), whom I follow here and elsewhere. His views have received general support in Germany. Halm, for instance, in his last (8th) edition of Cic. in Cat. modifies his views in accordance with Dr John's criticism.

day on which they were actually held. This view rests on a comparison of passages in the Murena and the Catilinarian invectives[17].

In the Murena (25, 50) Cicero relates how he laid before the Senate some of the utterances of Catiline in the election speech. The Senate resolved in consequence that instead of holding the Comitia on the following day, as had been arranged, a further discussion should be held as to these disclosures. At this second meeting of the Senate, then, Cicero challenged Catiline to give explanations. But Catiline made no defence, but said only that the State had two bodies, the one weak with a feeble head, the other strong but without a head—the strong body should not want for a head as long as he lived. The Senate was shocked, *neque tamen* (says Cicero) *satis severe pro rei indignitate decrevit*, and Catiline bounded out of the Senate-house in high glee. Cicero then goes on to speak of the day of the Comitia and of his famous shining cuirass.

From the first invective against Catiline we gather that, at a meeting of the Senate on 21st Oct., Cicero foretold that Manlius would be in arms on the 27th, and that the 28th was fixed for a general slaughter of the optimates. On that same 21st the Senate gave the consuls full power—a *senatus consultum vehemens et grave*.

It is supposed that the second meeting of the Senate spoken of in the Murena is the meeting of the

[17] And not on other evidence. Sallust 26. 5 & 29. 2; Plutarch Cic. 14 & 15; Dio 37. 30 & 31, at any rate, all put the *Stus. consultum ultimum* after the election.

21st, and that the slaughter of the nobles which Catiline had fixed for the 28th is the same as the attempt on the day of election.

But these assumptions are surely incredible. The disclosures which Cicero made on the day originally fixed for the Comitia were clearly only about what Catiline had said at the election meeting. Can the *senatus consultum* which Cicero calls *non satis severe* be the same as the *s. c. vehemens et grave* of the invective? And can the *caedes optimatium* be the same as the attempt to murder Cicero and the other candidates? Is it possible that, after Cicero had foretold that the 28th was fixed for a wholesale slaughter, just that day should have been fixed upon for holding the Comitia? These among other considerations render it fairly certain that in the passages quoted four distinct occasions are referred to, (1) a meeting of the Senate on the day before that originally fixed for the Comitia; (2) a meeting on the day originally fixed for the Comitia; (3) the day on which the postponed Comitia were held; (4) a meeting of the Senate on the 21st Oct.

The difficulty of the combination has often been felt, and other dates have been given for the Comitia. Lange[18], for instance, suggests 23rd Sept. for the day

[18] Römische Alterthümer 3. 241 (1871), relying on Suet. Aug. 94, *quo natus est (Augustus) die, cum de Catilinae coniuratione ageretur in curia e. q. s.*, and Augustus' birthday is fixed (Aug. 5), *M. Tullio Cicerone et Antonio coss.* IX. *Kal. Oct.* But these passages are of little value for this question, as it is uncertain, 1. to what sitting allusion is made, 2. whether the date is given by the old or reformed calendar, and 3. if by the

originally fixed, and some early day in October as the day on which, after a postponement, they were actually held.

But such a dating would be far from clearing away all difficulties. The proper time for holding the consular Comitia at this period was July[19]. How is it then that we hear nothing of this double postponement, a long one, from July to 21st October or other day about that time, and a shorter one, from that day to 28th October, unless it be that in fact the Comitia was after a short adjournment held in the usual month of July[20]?

Against that theory there is nothing but the consideration to which the orthodox view is presumably due,—the consideration namely that, if Catiline's preparations for open revolution had been

latter to what date of the old calendar the date given would correspond. Mommsen has suggested a variety of dates in his different writings, from 20 Oct. to 4 Nov.

[19] Mommsen, R. S. 1^2. 565, note 3. John, 749 n. The consular Comitia can be shown to have been held before the end of July in the years 684, 693, 694, 696, 700, 703, 704.

[20] Putting the Comitia in July clears up many a little difficulty. For instance Mur. § 52, *his tum rebus commotus, et quod homines iam tum coniuratos cum gladiis in campum deduci a Catilina sciebam descendi in campum cum firmissimo praesidio, etc.* Can Cicero pride himself on knowing already on the 28th Oct. that there was a conspiracy? Clearly not, and the passage therefore has greatly troubled the commentators. But if the election took place in July there is no difficulty. How, again, can Cicero have argued that there was nothing very compromising in Caelius and others having supported the candidature if the election took place in the midst of military preparations for violence?

going on for a whole year and more, it is inexplicable why there was so much delay after the election. But that these preparations had been begun before the election, that the consulship was of so little importance in Catiline's plans, is quite a mistake of Sallust's. It would not perhaps be over-rash to take something of the following kind as being the truth.

Catiline had tried whether the support of the democratic leaders could get him the consulship in 690 (64). He found that it could not, that perhaps, on the other hand, it was an obstacle. When he comes forward therefore in the following year, he appears to have thrown off all his previous connexion with the democratic and anti-Pompeian party. It was in allusion perhaps to Caesar and Crassus that, in his election speech, he denied *miserorum fidelem defensorem inveniri posse nisi eum qui ipse miser esset: integrorum et fortunatorum promissis saucios et miseros credere non oportere* (Mur. 25, 50). He now came forward no longer as a representative of a political party and as the tool of others, but as the independent leader of a social following—the bankrupt and ruined[21]. He had not been remiss in his canvass,

[21] I follow Dr John here, not certainly without some misgiving, in suggesting that Caesar was not an accomplice in the conspiracy in the latter half of the year 691 (63). Mommsen's arguments to the contrary are not very strong in any case, but they lose much of what force they have, if it be true as here contended that Catiline's plans were completely changed in July and afterwards. That Caesar supported Catiline in 690 there can be little doubt (see the Fragments of the Oratio in toga candida and Asconius' comments), but it does not

he had done everything, but he failed once more. His patience was now exhausted. To get the consulship, to achieve his aims in a regular way, was proved to be impossible. He determined on terror and anarchy. The rise of the Catilinarian conspiracy dates from the failure to secure the consulship for 692 (62).

follow that that support was continued, when Catiline rushed into senseless violence. (See however Cic. ad Att. 10. 8. 8, Plut. Crass. 13, Suet. Jul. 17.)

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE CATILINARIAN CONSPIRACY.

A.U.C.	B.C.	MONTH OR DAY.	
646	108		Birth of Catiline (if he was praetor 'suo anno').
			Many enormities are attributed to him during the reign of terror under Sulla—is quaestor and legate.
681	73		Accused of incest with the vestal virgin Fabia, sister of Cicero's wife Terentia.
686	68		Praetor.
687	67		Propraetor in Africa.
688	66	July	Returns to Rome to stand for consulship.
689	65	1 Jan.	Plot to murder the new consuls.
		5 Feb.	Second unsuccessful attempt.
			Piso is sent to Spain, and is murdered in the middle of next year.
		Nov.	Trial for misgovernment in Africa ends in acquittal.
690	64	July	Shortly before the election, Cic. delivers the Oratio in tog. cand.
			Cicero and Antonius elected consuls. C. unsuccessful.
			Some months after Comitia (possibly in next year) Lucceius accuses C. 'de vi' before Caesar. He is acquitted.
691	63		The year of Cicero's consulship.
		July	C. makes his election speech — the 'contio domestica'. Cic. calls the attention of the Senate to this speech on the day before the Comitia. It

A.U.C.	B.C.	MONTH OR DAY.	
691	63	July	is resolved not to hold the Comitia on the morrow, but to discuss the state of affairs. At this second meeting C. makes the remark about the State having two heads. The Senate passes no severe resolutions, and determines to hold the Comitia in a day or two.
			The Comitia is held, and C. is again unsuccessful.
			During the next three months C. is busy with his military and other preparations — not unobserved by Cicero.
		20 Oct.	Crassus brings a warning letter to Cicero.
		21 Oct.	Meeting of the Senate. The preparations and designs of C. are unfolded and evidence produced. The consuls are given full powers. Generals despatched. Rewards offered.
		27 Oct.	Manlius raises the standard at Faesulae.
		28 Oct.	Intended 'caedes optimatium'.
			On one of the last days of Oct. the Senate hears of Manlius' doings.
		6–7 Nov.	Meeting of conspirators at Laeca's house.
		7 Nov.	Attempted assassination of Cicero.
		8 Nov.[1]	Meeting of Senate in temple of Juppiter Stator. Cicero delivers the First Invective against C., who leaves Rome that night.

[1] With regard to the date of the delivery of the First Invective, we know from that speech that the meeting at Laeca's was held the night next but one before the delivery of the speech. Cicero gives the date of this meeting in p. Sulla, 28. 52 *quid tandem de illa nocte dicit, cum inter falcarios ad M. Laecam, nocte ea, quae consecuta est posterum diem nonarum Novembrium, me consule Catilinae denuntiatione convenit?* where the expression *p. d. non. Nov.* must

A.U.C.	B.C.	MONTH OR DAY.	
691	63	9 Nov.	Cic. delivers the Second Invective before the people.
			Some days afterwards news arrives that C. has joined Manlius; when the Senate declares them both enemies of the State. Antonius is to lead an army against them.
		2–3 Dec.	The Allobroges' deputation leave Rome at night, and are arrested.
		3 Dec.	Meeting of the Senate in the temple of Concordia. The conspirators are arrested. Afterwards the Third Invective is delivered before the people.
		4 Dec.	Rumour of intended rescue of the conspirators.
		5 Dec.	Meeting of Senate in the temple of Concordia. The Fourth Invective. Lentulus, etc., executed.
692	62	Jan.	Battle of Pistoria.

be surely a precise periphrasis for 'a. d. VIII. id. Nov.'—6 Nov. —the day after the nones. The speech then will have been delivered 8 Nov. The date also of the passing of the 'Sctum. ultimum' will be 21 Oct., for Asconius (in Pis. p. 5), remarking on the expression *vigesimum diem* (in Cat. 1. 2. 4), says that this is round numbers for 18th, and his method in computation is *not* to count in the *terminus a quo.* It can hardly be doubted that the attempt to murder Cicero was made not many hours after the meeting at Laeca, and not postponed as Mommsen supposes. Why then did Cicero not call the Senate together on the 7th? Perhaps because he wished to leave the rumours of the murderous morning call, the *nocturnum praesidium Palatii*, and the *urbis vigiliae* to work awhile on the mind of the too-often incredulous Senate, and on the mind of the people. (In the Second Invective, 3. 6 *superioris noctis* means apparently only the former of the two nights, which after the speech in the Senate was familiar to every-

body under that designation, and *hesterno die* in 6. 12 must be taken, not with *interfectus sum* but with *detuli* only).

Authorities. — The only contemporary authorities are Cicero and Sallust. The other, and secondary, accounts seem to come from one or other of these sources. Many writers have supposed that Plutarch and Dio copied from Livy; in that case Livy must have borrowed from Cicero. It is more probable that their authority was Cicero's *περὶ ὑπατείας*, which both mention: there, no doubt, they would find the incidents of Crassus bringing the consul letters on 20 Oct. and the 'shining cuirass,' which both record, etc. The accounts of Appian and Florus, on the other hand, come in the main from Sallust, without doubt. It does not appear, however, that any of these authorities relied entirely on one source. Plutarch, for instance, mentions the incident of the *equites* threatening Caesar as he left the Senate on 5 Dec., and how Curio and Cicero protected him, and adds, *τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως ὁ Κικέρων, εἴπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ὑπατείας οὐκ ἔγραψεν* (Caes. 8), that he did not take it from Sall. C. 49. 2 is clear, indeed there is no reason to suppose that he consulted Sallust at all. Suetonius, Jul. 9, has some interesting particulars about the first conspiracy, for which he mentions his (four) authorities.

SCHEME OF SALLUST'S HISTORY OF THE CONSPIRACY.

CHAP.

1—4 Preface.

5 The character of Catiline.

6—13 Digression on past Roman history, to show how such a character was possible. The decline set in after the fall of Carthage. Security bred avarice and ambition.

14—16 Catiline's followers: how they are trained to be as criminal as their leader.

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17 Catiline summons his followers of all classes to an opening meeting.

18, 19 A previous conspiracy, in which Piso plays a leading part.

20 Catiline's speech to the conspirators.

21 He tells them what is to be gained by the movement.

22 They take an oath of fidelity.

23 Their designs are betrayed by Fulvia to Cicero,

24 who becomes consul. Preparations are begun for risings in Italy. Some women of bad character join the conspiracy:

25 among them a remarkable woman—Sempronia. Her character.

CHAP.

26 Catiline stands for the consulship in 63 B.C. That and other schemes of his are frustrated by Cicero. Catiline determines on immediate war.

27 Manlius and others are despatched to different parts of Italy. Catiline tries to arouse his followers to greater activity at the Laeca-meeting.

28 Attempted murder of Cicero. Manlius raises recruits in Etruria.

29 The Senate pass the *Sctum. ultimum*, and

30 despatch commanders to Etruria and other parts.

31 Alarm in Rome. Cicero delivers his First Invective.

32 Catiline leaves Rome to join Manlius.

33—36 Catiline and Manlius try to deceive people as to their plans by letters. But the Senate, hearing the truth, declare the two public enemies.

37—39 Owing to the miserable condition of society, the effect of party strife, all the common people sympathize with the conspirators.

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40 Lentulus tries to win over the ambassadors of the Allobroges to the conspiracy,

41 who however decide to give information to the government.

42 Premature outbreak of the conspirators in some parts of Italy.

43 Plans of incendiarism and massacre formed by the conspirators in Rome.

44, 45 The ambassadors arrested as they leave Rome.

46, 47 The Allobroges and Volturcius reveal the plot to the Senate.

48 Altered feelings of the people. L. Tarquinius inculpates Crassus.

49 Attempt to get Caesar also accused of complicity.

CHAP.

50 Attempt to rescue the arrested conspirators frustrated. The Senate meets to decide on their fate.

51 Speech of Caesar against death.

52 Speech of Cato for death. (His proposal carried.)

53, 54 To such men as these two speakers Rome owes its greatness. Their characters contrasted.

55 The principal conspirators in Rome are executed.

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56 Catiline's military arrangements.

57 He attempts to escape, but is hemmed in between Metellus Celer and Antonius.

58 He addresses his soldiers.

59 Disposition of the forces of the two armies.

60 The Battle. Defeat and death of Catiline.

61 It was a bloody victory.

REMARKS ON SALLUST'S STYLE.

In ancient criticisms of the style of Sallust, it is, besides his brevity, his affection for Archaisms, taken from Cato, which, whether for praise or blame, is mostly insisted on[1]. These archaisms, however, as far as can now be ascertained, are hardly as numerous as one would be led to expect. It must also be observed that it is rather in the use of old words and forms, than in syntax, that Sallust affects antiquity, and more, as is natural and proper, in the speeches, direct or indirect, than elsewhere. Jordan, however, is going too far when he says, that the archaisms are confined to the speeches, and that while he chose to decorate his speeches with the tinsel of antiquated forms and expressions, when speaking in his own

[1] Asinius Pollio: *Sallustii scripta reprehendit ut nimia priscorum verborum affectatione oblita.* Pollio also said that a certain Ateius Philologus *antiqua verba et figuras solitum esse colligere Sallustio*—a calumny surely. (Suet. de Gramm. 10). Augustus spoke of the words, *quae Crispus S. excerpsit ex Originibus Catonis.* Fronto, a warm admirer of the historian, calls him *frequentem sectatorem Catonis.* Quintilian quotes 'a well-known epigram': *Et verba antiqui multum furate Catonis | Crispe Iugurthinae conditor historiae.* Lenaeus (see p. ix n. 5) inveighed against Sallust as *priscorum Catonisque verborum ineruditissimum furem.*

person, Sallust uses the language of an unaffected man of the world[2].

The ancients, then, were struck mainly by the archaisms; in the present day, however, it is contended that Sallust's partiality for CONVERSATIONAL EXPRESSIONS is quite as marked. No ancient critic, I believe, notices this point, but that perhaps need not excite surprise or incredulity. Many words and expressions, of course, tend to drop out of literature but continue in the spoken language, so that the archaic and conversational often coincide. But nevertheless not only does Sallust use not a few words and expressions, archaic from the point of view of literature, which happened to be also part of the every-day speech of the time, but many words and turns, which have come direct from conversational language[3]. So much may be taken as fairly established. But when Wölfflin describes Sallust's style shortly as 'vulgar democrat's Latin'—that gives an exaggerated idea of the prevalence of colloquialisms in Sallust. Jordan once more strongly denies the justice of this description.

[2] The reader may be reminded of: *-ere* for *-erunt*, *supplicia=supplicationes*, *perditum ire*, *hostem ferire* from the C. not in speeches, but see the notes *passim*. Jordan gives no evidence except that according to him the forms—*colos*, *odos*, *labos*—were employed only in speeches, and that *actutum*, his conjecture in J. 102. 14, occurs in an indirect report of a speech. Jordan's language, which I quote, gives on the other hand a rather exaggerated idea of the archaic tone of the speeches.

[3] As samples may be taken: *pergnarus*, which occurs only in S. and Apuleius, *portatio* in S. and Vitruvius. *Populares* (=*socii*) must come rather from the *sermo plebeius* than the *s. cotidianus*.

No one, he says, could be farther removed from any tinge of vulgarity than this man of the world, who, though he had suffered shipwreck in political life, had found a very comfortable haven, and who spent his elegant ease in scourging the vices of the times. A contemporary writer, Jordan adds, could easily offer a great contrast to Cicero without drawing on colloquial sources, for the public speaking of the time, instead of corrupting the language (as the political speaking and the newspapers do now) with stereotyped and unmeaning phrases, served to maintain the language in dignity and elevation.

Certainly it is not necessary to suppose, because Sallust has many constructions which are not to be found in the writings of Cicero and Caesar, his contemporaries, that these constructions are taken from colloquial language. The rhetorical copiousness of Cicero was as little to Sallust's taste as his politics; his admiration of Caesar did not extend to the style of the Commentaries. But these writers had not a monopoly of cultivated language, and the style of history requires a vocabulary and phraseology of its own. Many words and constructions of Sallust's which are not to be found in Cicero and Caesar appear again in the polished prose of Livy. Many expressions also of a poetical colour are employed to give the required picturesque tone to the narrative.

There are archaisms and conversationalisms in Sallust's language; in its total impression, however, Sallust's style is neither affectedly archaic nor carelessly colloquial, but in the main—the man himself. His taste was, no doubt, formed on the writings of

Cato, and he wrote with effort and elaboration; but his style is still the expression of the writer's character, direct, incisive, emphatic and outspoken, averse from qualifying refinements or intricacy of any kind[4].

Whether it be true, as is often maintained, that the peculiarities of his style grew upon Sallust, that in his Histories he indulged more often in archaisms and in bold and unusual constructions, is far from certain. Indeed the opposite is sometimes asserted. The fact is that we are hardly able to judge. The only complete remains of this work are the speeches, and we cannot, for the reason already mentioned, take these as representative of the whole book. The detached fragments are preserved mainly by grammarians, and are quoted not always with accuracy for some singularity of grammar. The style, however, of the Catiline and Jugurtha offers a few contrasts:—

Some words and constructions employed in the

[4] Some writers (especially Poppo) have maintained that Sallust's style is largely affected by imitation of Greek constructions, taken principally from Thucydides. There has however been much exaggeration in the matter. The following nevertheless may be reasonably regarded as of Greek origin: J. 84. 3 *neque plebi militia volenti putabatur*, J. 100. 4 *uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labor volentibus esset*. The construction does not appear to occur in Latin before Sallust. Livy has it once 21. 50. 10, and Tacitus thrice.—J. 73. 5 *in maius celebrare* seems to come from Thuc. 1. 21. 1 *ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμοῦντες*.—Quintilian (9. 3. 17) quotes *vulgus amat fieri* as one of Sallust's imitations of Greek phrases, probably an inexact quotation of J. 34. 1.—In J. 84. 1, *multus atque ferox instare*, cp. Thuc. 4. 22 *πολὺς ἐνέκειτο*, though this adverbial use of *multus* is not rare in early Latin.

Catiline are dropped afterwards. *Populares* (= *socii*), for instance, is used only in the Catiline; *tametsi—tamen* occurs for the last time in J. 38. 9, and others. More words and constructions however are peculiar to the Jugurtha—e.g. *loci* (for *loca*), *duum* for *duorum*, *quis* for *quibus* (? C. 18. 1), *quamquam* very often, *que—et*, the phrase *cum animo habere* (*reputare*), the word *ostentare*; *ceterum* is far more common in the Jugurtha, so is *uti* before vowels; *equidem* gradually assimilates to the Ciceronian use (see p. 144).

Before passing from the question of archaisms and conversationalisms, I give a full, but not complete, list of such as occur in the Jugurtha; those that occur in the Catiline are mentioned in the notes. *Actutum*, a conjecture, but a certain conjecture, of Jordan's in 102. 14 (for *ac tum*), where it will occur (as in Liv. 29. 14) in reported speech. The word is common in Plautus, but soon got antiquated, though it occurs occasionally in poetry and in official terminology. *Apud illum* (= *in illo*) 106. 6 *fuere qui dicerent manu vindicandum neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum*, a conversational phrase employed to imitate the soldiers' language. *Conspicor* 49, 4 passive. *Cum* = *quod* 102. 5 *Rex Bocche, magna laetitia nobis est, cum te talem virum di monuere uti e.q.s.* cp. Cic. Ep. 9. 14. 3 *O mi Cicero, inquit, gratulor tibi, cum tantum vales apud Dolabellam. Dextumus* 100. 2, an antiquated superlative. *Diu* in the phrase *diu noctuque* 38. 3, 44. 5. *Dolet* with the dative, 84. 1 *dictitare...alia praeterea magnifica pro se et illis dolentia. Fide*, dative 16. 3 (and in the Hist. *requie, acie*). *Illim*, Dietsch's generally accepted

conjecture in 114. 2, is archaic for *illinc.* *Loci* often in the literal sense for the more classical *loca.* *Ludificare* 36. 2, 50. 4. The word is common in Plautus as an active verb, and afterwards, especially in this form, fell out of literary use. Cicero in his *first* speech p. Quint. § 54 writes *si latitare ac diutius ludificare videatur*, obviously for the sake of concinnity. It appears to occur only once again in Cicero and then p. Rosc. A. § 55 as a deponent. *Malum* =*poena*, 100. 5 *Marius...pudore magis quam malo exercitum coercebat*: cp. the well-known verse, *Dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae.* Plautus has *verum tu malum magnum habebis, si hic suum officium facit.* The phrase *malum habebis* occurs often, e.g. in Seneca. *Modo* in the phrase *inpensius modo* 47. 3, 75. 1, and in the Hist. *avidior modo properandi facinus* 'only more eager.' *Nullo* dative, 97. 3 *rati noctem... et victis sibi munimento fore et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento*—it may however be the ablative. *Nave*, 77. 3, an old form of *naviter*, used also by Plautus. *Nequitur*, 31. 8 *quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur iure factum sit* (speech of Memmius). Passives of *queo* and *nequeo* (cp. too *potestur*) occur in Pacuvius, Plautus, Cato, Terence, Lucretius. Observe too in the quotation *ulcisci* as a passive, as in Ennius and Liv. 5. 49. 3 *omnia quae defendi repetique et ulcisci fas sit.* *Nisi* has the sense of an adversative particle in 24. 5, 67. 3, 100. 5. *Ocissume* 25. 5, also in Terence. *Partiverant* (=*partiti erant*) in 43. 1. (So Sisenna used *adsentio*=*adsentior*). *Pergere* governs a case in 79. 5 *iter pergere.* *Prosapia* 85. 10 (Marius' speech) *hominem veteris prosapiae.* Cato has the

same phrase. Cicero, Timaeus 11 *et eorum, ut utamur veteri verbo, prosapiam.* Quintil. 1. 6. 40 censures its use. In later literature the word is not infrequent, but always with *vetus*. *Verbum* 11. 7 = 'a remark,' as in Plautus and Terence.

Besides these words one or two constructions may be mentioned. The indicative in an indirect question 85. 3 *neque me fallit, quantum...negoti sustineo*—that is the reading of P. though Jordan reads *sustineam*, but perhaps the *sustineo* is not objectionable in Marius' mouth.—In the accusative with the infinitive, the future infinitive is indeclinable, *esse* being omitted. 100. 4 *non tam diffidentia futurum quae imperavissent.* Gellius 1. 7 quotes from Cato *illi polliciti sese facturum omnia* (see Kühner, Lat. Gram. 2. 39).—The gerund has a passive sense, perhaps, in 62. 8 *cum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur*, the meaning being 'to receive orders.' Cic. Ep. 9. 25. 2 *nunc ades ad imperandum vel ad parendum potius, sic enim antiqui loquebantur.*—*Scilicet* with acc. and inf., 102. 9, 113. 3 are rather doubtful, but Or. Phil. 5 *At scilicet eos...gratiam ab eo peperisse* (Kühner 2. 515). The following phrases among others are regarded by Schmalz as colloquial: *falsum me habuit* 10. 1 (Micipsa loq.) = *me fefellit*: *nihil ad vos* 24. 6 (Adherbal's letter): *ludibrio habitus* 34. 2: *pugnam facit* 56. 4, a periphrasis for *pugnare*: *caveret petere* 64. 2: *quod contra est* 85. 22 (Marius' speech): *haud secus difficilem* 92. 4, a conversational *litotes*: *sic habere* 114. 2 *Romani sic habuere* ('held this view'). Cato has *Maiores nostri sic habuere*, and the phrase is common in Cicero's letters.

To these may be added a few from the Histories. *Auxisse*, Or. Phil. 6 intransitive. Gellius quotes Cato, *eo res eorum auxit.* *Forus* = *forum* (*illum forum*), and *vadus* = *vadum* (*facilem vadum*). *Obsequela*—*per obsequelam orationis.* Caesar B. G. 7. 29. 4 uses *obsequentia* instead. Other colloquial words of this termination are *custodela*, *cautela*, *fugela*, *suadela*, *turbela*. *Percupidus*, also in Cicero's letters. *Potior* with accusative (*cuncta potiundi*), so *vescor* (*insolita vescentibus*). *Privus* = without, *privos militiae*—the word occurs besides only in Apuleius in this sense, *p. verae rationis.* *Quaeso*: Classical prose uses only the forms '*quaeso*', '*quaesumus*', and these parenthetically. Sallust, however, besides the passages quoted in the note, p. 142, has in the fragments—*Curionem quaesit ut concederet*, and Ep. Mith. 1 *quod quaesitur, satisne pium sit.* The word, however, is rather solemn and formal than archaic or colloquial, according to Jordan. *Senectus*, an adjective, *senecto corpore* and *senecta iam aetate*, as in Plautus and Lucretius. *Soluerat* = *solitus erat.* *Vis* = *vires* acc.—so Lucretius.

The ancients were much impressed with Sallust's Brevity[5]. Scaliger on the other hand professed himself unable to understand what was meant by it,—unless it were that Sallust proceeded in his narrative by a series of jumpy, jerky sentences, instead of by an

[5] Favorinus (in Gell. 3. 1) calls him *subtilissimum brevitatis artificem.* Quintilian speaks of *immortalem illam Sallustii velocitatem.* Seneca, the elder, thinks he surpassed Thucydides himself in brevity. Seneca, the younger, says *Sallustio vigente amputatae sententiae et verba ante exspectatum cadentia et obscura brevitas fuere pro cultu.*

even and periodic style; but the distance to be traversed, he continues, is not thereby reduced, nor the speed increased. And certainly an author who begins the history of this short-lived conspiracy with a comparison of the bodily and spiritual powers of man, and who is continually on the look-out for the chance of a digression, takes an unnecessarily long start, and is in no great hurry. But it is of course just to this abrupt unperiodic style of writing that Sallust owes his reputation for brevity. Rugged and disjointed Sallust sometimes is, but his abruptness is seldom careless or accidental, and is more often than not highly effective. Every page would supply an example; but such a pair of sentences as the following may have been in Quintilian's mind when he spoke of Sallust's *immortalis velocitas.* Jugurtha sends some soldiers to murder Hiempsal—*qui postquam in aedis inrupere, divorsi regem quaerere, dormientes alios alios occursantis interficere, scrutari loca abdita, clausa effringere, strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere, cum interim Hiempsal reperitur occultans se tugurio mulieris ancillae, quo initio pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidae caput eius, uti iussi erant, ad Iugurtham referunt* (J. 12. 5)—'*perfugerat*, a pause, and then the bloody corpse of the Greek stage'. The other sentence is:—*tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus: sequi fugere occidi capi, equi atque viri adflicti, ac multi volneribus acceptis neque fugere posse neque quietem pati, niti modo ac statim concidere*...(J. 101. 11). The description is imitated in all probability from Thucydides[6], and indeed the influence of Thucy-

[6] That the sentence is borrowed from Thuc. 7. 75. 3 is ren-

dides is very noticeable in Sallust's writings, alike in matter and in form. His countrymen ventured to pronounce Sallust equal if not superior to his Greek model, both as a writer and as an historian. To such a position Sallust has no claim, but to have been in his turn a model for Tacitus is no slight merit[7].

Under this head I give a few examples of ELLIPSE. In the omission of the parts of *sum*, Sallust is bolder than any writer except Tacitus. *Est*, *sunt*, *erat*, *erant* are often omitted, whether used as copula or absolutely, both in dependent and principal sentences, especially in descriptions of places, battles, and characters. There are instances also of omission of *sum*, *sumus*, *sit*, *fuerit*, *esset*, *fore*. *Esse* is always omitted after *putare*, *pati*, *videre* and often after *reri*. When *esse*

dered probable by the close resemblance of J. 60. 1—4 with Thuc. 7. 71, 2—4.

[7] Tacitus' familiarity with Sallust's writings is shown by his imitation of several phrases (Dräger, S. u. S. des Tacitus, p. 125). He calls Sallust 'the most brilliant of Roman historians.' I may add here a word as to Livy's opinion of him, as it has to do with imitation. Seneca Contr. 9. 1. 14 says, '*Titus autem Livius tam iniquus Sallustio fuit*,' that he criticized his phrase '*res secundae mire sunt vitiis optentui* (Or. Lep. 24) as an imitation, and a bad imitation, of Thucydides' (though by the way it is not Thucydides, but an inexact quotation from Demosthenes) *δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ εὐπραξίαι συγκρύψαι καὶ συσκιάσαι τὰ ἑκάστων ἁμαρτήματα.* Seneca puts Livy's low opinion of Sallust down to jealousy. If he could show, says Seneca, that Thucydides was superior to Sallust, Livy thought that it would be an easy thing to establish his own superiority to Thucydides. If it be true, however, that Livy was not among Sallust's admirers, the difference of temperament of the two writers would sufficiently explain the fact.

is to be taken absolutely it is seldom left out, but Or. Lep. 24 *cum...praemia penes paucos intellegerent.* A *pronoun* subject to an infinitive is wanting in Ep. Mith. 22, *teque illa fama sequetur, auxilio profectum... latrones gentium obpressisse.* *Se* is rarely omitted in a single acc. with inf.; in the C. only in 22. 2, 56. 5 (?).✓ A verb *dicendi* has to be supplied from, *queri* C. 43. 3; *mittunt litteras* J. 25. 5; *polliceri* C. 21. 2; (cp. J. 17. 3 *in divisione orbis terrae plerique in parte tertia Africam posuere, pauci tantum Asiam et Europam esse*). A verb has to be supplied in a different tense: C. 47. 2 *Cinnam atque Sullam ante* (*fuisse*), *se tertium esse*; J. 81. 1 *tum sese, paulo ante Carthaginiensis, item regem Persen, post uti quisque opulentissumus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore*; Or. Macr. 7 *itaque concessere illuc omnes, at mox...ad vos plerique* (*concedent*); C. 52. 20 *quippe maior copia nobis quam illis* (i.e. *maioribus*) *est* (*=nobis est quam illis erat*). Some examples of zeugma are given in the note to C. 51. 7.

Sallust's style offers great contrasts of MONOTONY and VARIETY. Not a few words recur with tiresome frequency, *sed, ita, itaque, igitur, ad hoc, praeterea, agere, agitare, praeceps, bonae,* (*malae*) *artes*, *per* with abstract nouns; and others. An unusual word too and phrase that occurs to the writer is often reproduced shortly afterwards. *Quo minus*, for instance, occurs only thrice altogether, but twice in C. 51. 37 and 41. The phrase C. 32. 1 *insidiae consuli procedebant* is repeated in the next section, so *naturam vincere* J. 75. 2, 76. 1 (Kühnast makes the same remark about Livy, p. 88 n., and indeed it is not unnatural). Occasionally a bold construction is due to

fondness for concinnity, *e.g.* J. 69. 3 *civitas magna et opulens cuncta poenae aut praedae fuit—poenae esse* does not occur elsewhere; J. 33. 4 *Romae* Numidaeque *facinora eius memorat*; J. 48. 4 *ea* (*loca*) *consita arbustis pecore atque* cultoribus *frequentabantur.*

But far more noticeable than his affection for certain words is Sallust's striving after variety (Quintilian 10. 3. 8 *manifestus est etiam ex opere ipso labor*). He may be regarded as the leader in the revolt against Ciceronian concinnity, the correspondence and balance of phrase and construction—a movement which Livy and Tacitus developed still further. This variety is remarked on in the notes, but a few instances are here put together for convenience—(1) The use of different forms: *plebs* and *plebes, inermus* and *inermis, vulgus* both masculine and neuter, *quibus* and *quis.* (2) Combination of singular and plural: J. 48. 3 *collis...vestitus oleastro ac murtetis*; J. 57. 4 *glande aut lapidibus pugnare.* (3) Alteration of a stereotyped phrase: J. 104. 5, 111. 1, *senatus et populus Romanus*; C. 53. 2 *domi militiaeque, mari atque terra* (*terra marique*). (4) The coupling of *per ambitionem* (or other abstract noun) with adverbs and modal ablatives. (5) Varied constructions: C. 33. 1 *plerique patriae sed omnes fama atque fortuna expertes sumus.* J. 74. 3 *Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti.* J. 97. 3 *rati noctem ...et victis sibi munimento fore et, si vicissent, nullo impedimento* (? abl.). J. 103. 7 *quae aut utilia aut benivolentiae esse credebant.* Or. Lep. 2 *homines maxumi nominis optumis maiorum exemplis.* H. 1. 75 (*Pompeius*) *oris probi animo inverecundo.* J. 7. 4 *ut*

nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maxumo terrori esset. J. 98. 7 *ea cuncta Romanis...facilia visu magnoque hortamento erant.* J. 5. 4 *cuius in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit.* J. 100. 2 *Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortis Ligurum curabat.* J. 32. 3 *fuere, qui auro conrupti elephantos Iugurthae traderent, alii perfugas vendere, pars ex pacatis praedas agebant.* Good instances in the Catiline will be found in 5. 9, 17. 6.

Ateius Philologus warned Asinius Pollio against Sallust's boldness in METAPHOR (*audaciam in translationibus*). The caution was hardly necessary. The commonest metaphor is the word *praeceps* with *ire* (*abire, agi, dari*). Of others a few examples follow: C. 10. 6 *post ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit* (cp. C. 36. 5 etc.). J. 72. 2 *formidine quasi vecordia agitari* (repeated J. 99. 3). Or. Phil. 9 *neu patiamini licentiam scelerum quasi rabiem ad integros contactu procedere*—metaphors from disease are very common. Or. Phil. 12 *videmini tanta mala quasi fulmen optare se quisque ne attingat, sed prohibere ne conari quidem.* C. 52. 35 *Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget*; id. 24 *dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput est.* Or. Macr. 21 *differunt vos in adventum Cn. Pompei, quem ipsum ubi pertimuere, sublatum in cervices suas* ('*quasi servi lecticarii dominum*'), *mox dempto metu lacerant*; id. 6 (*pauci*) *aerarium exercitus regna provincias occupavere et arcem habent ex spoliis vostris.*

ALLITERATION plays a great part in Sallust's style, and serves perhaps to give a slight archaic tinge. In the best prose its use is more and more narrowed to a

few stereotyped formulae, and even for employing these Cicero often apologises with an *ut aiunt*. The following occur in the Catiline, some of them more than once. *Clades atque calamitas*: *convicti confessique*: *fama atque fortuna*: *fides—fortuna*: *flagitium—facinus*: *fluxus atque fragilis*: *foeda atque formidulosa*: *fortis fidosque*: *irati infensique*: *laetitia atque lascivia*: *lubido—luxuria*: *magna atque magnifica*: *mansuetudo atque misericordia*: *maria montesque*: *modus—modestia*: *multus et magnus*: *mutari ac misceri*: *portenta atque prodigia*: *pudorem—pudicitiam*: *tutae tranquillaeque*: *vas aut vestimentum*: *vultu—voce*: 21. 1 *quieta movere magna merces videbatur*: 20. 10 *viget aetas, animus valet*: 3. 2 *quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat aequo animo accipit, supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit*: 11. 5...*quo sibi fidum faceret contra morem maiorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter habuerat*. A sort of pun seems intended in J. 43. 1 *Post Auli* foedus *exercitusque nostri* foedam *fugam*.

The HISTORICAL INFINITIVE is found in Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Caesar (in the Bell. Gall. but not in the Bell. Civ., if Dräger is right), but Sallust first makes an extensive use of it. Afterwards it is common in Livy and Tacitus and other writers, but by no writer is it so often, and perhaps so successfully, applied, as by Sallust. It is calculated that one in every sixteen verbs is in the historical infinitive. The following points then with regard to Sallust's use of it may be worthy of note. (1) Its function is to give a sort of kaleidoscopic picture, to describe a busy and quickly shifting scene; and accordingly it was far more common than not for a succession of infinitives

to be used (in J. 66. 1, eleven). Single historical infinitives however occur—often to give variety of construction. (2) When, as generally the case, more than one infinitive is employed, a summing-up sentence is generally added, the verb of which is (*a*) sometimes another historical infinitive, e.g. C. 14. 6, where the sentence is introduced by *postremo* (in other cases *prorsus ita denique* are found); (*b*) sometimes an imperfect indicative, e.g. C. 25. 5 *prorsus*, C. 60. 4 without any introductory adverb. [In J. 65. 5 an historical infinitive sums up after finite verbs.] (3) The verbs—more often than not intransitive verbs or transitive verbs used absolutely—express generally some external action, or, if they denote a feeling, it is generally manifestations of feeling. *Posse* however is found in C. 25. 5, J. 67. 2, 69. 2 and the *copula* is sometimes found C. 20. 7, *fieri* 38. 1. (4) The subject is naturally never in any writer the second person. The first person is however sometimes found Ter. Eun. 411 *ego non flocci pendere, illi inuidere*; Cic. Verr. 2. 77. 188 *clamare omnes...ego instare.* Att. 2. 12. 2 *ego negare.* In Sallust it is always third person, and (*a*) rarely, no subject is expressed: C. 12. 2, J. 101. 11; (*b*) a single subject is generally used, though it is sometimes broken up into *pars—alii*, etc. (5) In J. 98. 2 Sallust uses the hist. inf. after *cum tamen*, and cp. J. 70. 5, 100. 4. Livy has it after *cum interim* in 3. 37. 6. Tacitus does not scruple to use it freely in subordinate clauses. (6) It is rare for the hist. inf. to be introduced by the pluperfect; C. 13. 3; J. 64. 5. (7) The inf. is sometimes, but not often, passive: C. 10. 6 *vindicari*, 27. 2 *fatigari*.

NOTES ON THE MANUSCRIPTS AND THE TEXT.

OWING probably to the favour with which the Fathers (especially St Augustine) regarded Sallust's writings, we have an exceptionally large number of manuscripts, about fifty, I believe. A start was first made in determining in a methodical way the relative value of this mass of manuscripts by C. L. Roth in 1854. Some of the MSS. have a gap of several chapters towards the end of the Jugurtha. Taking this, and some other slighter omissions, for his criteria, Roth divided the MSS. into three classes, thus:—I. Those which omit J. 103. 2 after *necessariorum* to J. 112. 3, where they resume with *pacem vellet.* II. Those which have this matter. III. Those which, besides the filling in of this large lacuna, have certain other sentences, omitted by both the preceding classes. These are J. 44. 5 *sed neque muniebantur ea*... (though the words vary much), J. 21. 4 *de controversiis suis iure potius quam bello disceptare*, and C. 6. 2 *ita...erat* (or *est*).

The MSS. of the first, and of course oldest class, belong to the 10th century; those of the second to the 11th; while those of the third belong to the 14th, and are therefore of not much account[8].

[8] Nothing has suffered so much in the constant copying as the order of words. In an Ashburnham MS. which I have

That the MSS. of the two first classes come (as has been shown for other authors) more or less directly from one and the same manuscript is almost certain. The following is a neat indication of this. In J. 103. 2, a line or two before the big lacuna, the mass of the manuscripts have a senseless *feliciter* (which is altered in some to a hardly more satisfactory *flectitur*). According to Kortte's certain conjecture, it is a gloss, put by the writer or reader of the original manuscript, who thus expressed his satisfaction at the turn things were then taking for the Romans, or, more probably, thus solemnly noted the conclusion under the circumstances of the work. (Cp. the title of the Oratio '*ad Caesarem...de republica incip. felicit.*')

From what source the missing chapters were supplied in the MSS. of the second class it is impossible to decide. The loss of them cannot have happened at a very early time, for a grammarian of the 5th century quotes from them: they appear again in MSS. of the 11th century. The MSS. which contain them hand them down to us in so peculiarly corrupt a state, and with so many variants, that, if they were supplied by the recovery of the lost sheets of the original MS., these particular sheets must have been written in some very illegible way or have been much injured. It is more likely that another, a very ill-written and corrupt but complete MS. came to light in the 11th century, and that the writers of the inter-

looked at I found, for instance, the following version of C. 35. 1 *exemplum earum litterarum est scriptum infra Lucius Catilina mittit salutem Quinto Catulo egregia tua fides cognita mihi grata re tribuit fiduciam meae commendationi in meis magnis periculis.*

polated MSS. filled in the lacuna from it. Both these things may of course have occurred.

In the critical edition of Dietsch, which appeared in 1859, the classification of the MSS. proposed by Roth was accepted, and the oldest MSS. were given something of the authority they deserved. But, unfortunately, it was found by Jordan and Wirz that the collation of the two or three of the oldest MSS. was far from correct. At the present time, not all the MSS. of the first class have been collated; but Jordan has done a great service in determining which of the oldest MSS., as far as they are known, are of the most importance. The chief result at which he has arrived is, that the oldest MS. we have is also the best, that it is the main foundation on which the text must be built[9]. The accuracy of the recension of this MS., which Jordan gave out in 1866, has, in all material points, been abundantly established by Wirz, who had previously collated it, and by others.

This leading MS., which belongs to the tenth, or perhaps to the ninth century, is preserved at Paris, and is generally known as 'Sorbonianus 500'[10]. Its sign is P. The merits of this MS. will, I hope, be sufficiently shown by the critical notes. But it must

[9] I take the liberty of quoting a sentence from a letter with which Prof. Jordan has favoured me. "*Post emissam editionem secundam contuli aliquot codices; interque eos unum quem adhuc nemo totum excusserat, Vaticanum* 2904: *sed tamen ut inde vix quicquam bonae frugis domum rettulerim.*"

[10] The MS. originally belonged to the library of Richelieu. It is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Latin 16024). The words *ante diem* in J. 113. 3, owing to mutilation, are the last decipherable words of the MS.

not be supposed that it is a carefully written or consistently correct manuscript. The writer was a somewhat illiterate person, it is clear. He gives us for instance *inuentus simulachelli* (for *iuventus simul ac belli*), *quem censores senatu* (that word added above the line) *probri gratia amauerant*, and *Piso adulescens nobilissimae audaciae*, and other things of the same kind. But the MS. from which he copied was no doubt a difficult one to read. As obvious mistakes have not as a rule been chronicled in the notes, a few words may be said on this not unimportant subject[11]. Many slips the writer himself corrected, and others were put right by a somewhat later hand; but many remain. Of these a large number fall under the following heads:—(*a*) words are sometimes wrongly divided, either in the way of running separate words together, or by splitting up one word into two: (*b*) words are lengthened by putting in a syllable in the middle: (*c*) words are shortened by omission of a syllable: (*d*) wrong terminations are put to words.

[11] Of these errors I give a few examples, choosing mainly such as have not been corrected at all or very unsuccessfully:—*a*) wrong division: *exulanas* (for: *ex Sullanis*), *simulachelli* (*simul ac belli*), *nobilissimae* (*nobilis summae*), *ideo* (*id adeo*), *minoresunt* (*minores sunt*), *suam et* (*suamet*), *fugere aut* (*fugerant*), *illecon sumerat* (*ille censuerat*), *formi dolosa* (*formidulosa*)—*b*) lengthening: *astitutiae* (*astutiae*), *consultando* (*consulto*), *meminimus* (*Memmius*), *vectigales* (*vigiles*), *proeliarentur* (*proeliantur*)—*c*) shortening: *dissili* (*dissimili*), *primum* (*plurimum*), *libertate* (*liberalitate*), *ples* (*plebes*), *obsidet* (*obsideret*)—*d*) wrong terminations: *foret* (*fore*), *agere* (*ageret*), *rapiebat* (*rapiebatur*), *peterentur* (*peterent*) etc., *maxumas hostias copias* (*m. hostium c.*), *domos suos* (*d. suas*), etc.

The mistakes of the MS. P¹ (to be mentioned below) are of a similar character, and they suggest perhaps certain conclusions as to the character of the MS. from which they both come. In that MS. it would seem words were not divided from one another, and abbreviations were often used for the terminations of verbs and nouns and also for middle syllables[12]. It may be added that the constant mistakes between *a* and *u*, and sometimes between *f* and *s*, show that the original was in cursive character.

Another important and peculiar MS. is preserved in the Vatican Library at Rome—Vaticanus 3864 (V). It is of about the same date as P. Of Sallust it contains the speeches and letters from the Catiline and Jugurtha, four speeches and two letters from the Histories[13], and also a speech and letter '*ad Caesarem senem de republica*'—both of them undoubtedly spurious. The corrector of P agrees with V in the parts they have in common, and perhaps this second hand (p) took these corrections from V. The variations between P and V are mainly in the order of the words; and, while in the genuine speeches V gives a later spelling (*optimus vulgus vult etc.*), in the speech and letter to Caesar we find *e. g. Illei*, *ignarei*,

[12] I gratefully acknowledge here my obligations to P. Klimscha's Sallustianische Miscellen. 1882. He is of opinion that such mistakes as *magorum* (*maiorum*), *agebat* (*aiebat*), *regi* (*rei*), *gemebat* (*hiemabat*) point to some parts at least having been dictated.

[13] Has V preserved *all* the speeches of the Histories? Jordan thinks so. The number seems small, but the ethnographical discussions and geographical descriptions would supply a good deal of ornamentation.

tuei, *mortaleis* (acc.), *formeidatur*. It is conjectured then that V is copied directly or not from an old school-reader, the compiler of which—in the times of the Antonines probably—altered spelling and order of words[14] and made some other alterations for school purposes, while in the spurious compositions, of which he was perhaps himself the author, he employed what he not always rightly understood to be the spelling of Sallust's time. (There seems to have been a similar collection of speeches from Livy. Suet. Dom. 10.)

The above are the only MSS. whose readings Jordan quotes separately. Of the manuscripts which fall under the head C (i. e. *ceteri codices*)—some or all of the MSS. of the first which have been collated—the most important is another Paris MS. of the 10th century, later, but not much later than P, with which it generally agrees. Wirz, its collator and champion, claims for it that in not a few places it gives us the right reading, for instance, in 7. 7 *possum*, and 51. 15 *severior*. I have sometimes added its readings under the title sign of P' on the authority of Wirz.

The best of the MSS. of the second class is a Munich MS. of the 11th century (Monacensis. lat. 14477), useful chiefly for filling in a part of the lacuna, but it comes to an end at J. 106. 1. Another is Vaticanus 3325 of the 11th or 12th century, which has the missing chapters appended at the end by a contem-

[14] *E. g.* C. 52. 2 P *longe mihi alia*, V *longe alia mihi*. C. 51. 35, P *atque ego haec*, V *atque haec ego*. C. 51. 24 P *neglegeris*, V *neglexeris*. J. 85. 16 P *posset*, V *possit* (to correct the grammar). J. 24. 9 P *scribo*, V *scripsi* (where the epistolary tense is quite out of place).

porary hand. A Leyden MS. of the same time has these chapters in their proper place, but it again is maimed in the middle of c. 110.

Besides the MSS., the earliest of which belongs perhaps to the 9th century, we have earlier help towards the determination of the text in the quotations by grammarians and scholiasts, by the Fathers and other writers; and hints may now and then be gleaned from imitators. The recognized archaic tone of his style attracted the grammarians, the profusion of moral sentiments and unfavourable estimate of his times made him a favourite with the other writers. Of the grammarians, most of them belonging to the fourth century, the most important are 'Acro' (7th cent.), Messius Arusianus, Charisius, Diomedes, Donatus, Nonius Marcellus (3rd cent.), Priscianus (6th cent.), Servius. Among the writers are Fronto, Gellius, Macrobius; Augustine and Jerome: among the imitators, Aurelius Victor, Hegesippus (the Latin paraphrase of Josephus), Septimius (Dictys Cretensis)—all three of the fourth century. I have mentioned these names in the notes, but have not thought it worth while to call them in when the reading in them too was uncertain. The help derived from this source is not very great, and it is disappointing that they do not quote the most difficult passages (22. 2, 39. 2, 51. 27, 57. 4). The grammarians, in particular, are not much to be relied on, unless they quote especially for the word or construction in question, and not always then (cp. 61. 3). Yet one is grateful to Gellius for showing us (33. 2) that the process of tampering with what Sallust wrote had

begun even in his time (he was born about A. D. 130). And grammarians show us in some places (*e. g.* 2. 8 *transiere* or *transegere*) that the variety of reading with which our MSS. present us goes back to earlier times. To Augustine we owe a sentence 6. 2, a couple of words in 5. 9, and the right reading in 54. 6. The support of the grammarians makes the form *senati* certain.

The text here given is that of Jordan's second edition of 1876 without any alteration, except that misprints have been corrected. Jordan has kindly given me information as to one or two places in which I was in doubt as to whether the reading was intentional. It should, however, be understood that Jordan does not give out his text as by any means a final text. In not a few places he is of opinion that conjecture is required, but he wisely prefers, as things stand at present, to lay a sure foundation. The notes which I give at the bottom of the text are also for the most part selected from Jordan; I have, however, added occasionally the readings of the MS. P^1 from the recension of Wirz (or more accurately his correction of Dietsch's recension) as already stated, and have noted a number of conjectures, all in fact that I know of which deserve consideration. Jordan mentions only a few.

In the adoption of Jordan's text, his orthography is of course included. In this matter P is not always a safe guide, for the MS. occasionally gives us (according to Dietsch) *atquae dii vult libet honeri* (*oneri*) *michi* etc. But such things apart, the well-established reputation of Sallust for archaic forms seems to have

made the writers of manuscripts careful in the matter of spelling, and Jordan follows P where it is reasonable. The reader will find in the text that *u* is written for *i* in such words as—*aestumo existumo lubet lacrumae legitumus novissumus*; *o* for *u* and *e* in *voltus volgus vorto voster advorsus percontari* etc.; and though *v* is written, *ignavos novos* in nom. sing.; *e* for *i* in *neglego intellego* etc.; *s* is always omitted after *ex*, *e. g. exequi execrari. Imperator imperium imperare* are always written with *m*; but the following words sometimes *im-*, sometimes *in-*,—*imbellis imbecillus impedio impetus impendeo* etc., though the majority are written without assimilation. In the same way *communis commendo*, but *conmittere* etc. Such inconsistencies as *pulcherrimus* and *pulcherrumus*, *manifestus* and *manufestus*, and *exsanguis* (?), which occur thus in P are retained. Dietsch adopts a more uniform system, especially in the matter of verbs compounded with prepositions, but I do not know that he has any MS. authority for this or for such forms as *caussa set haut* etc., or for *e. g. G. Manlius.*

TEXT AND NOTES.

ABBREVIATIONS.

P = the Paris MS.—Sorbonianus 500.

p = its corrector.

P^1 = Parisinus 1576.

p^1 = its corrector.

C = other MSS. of the first class, whether all or some of them.

z = MSS. of the second class.

V = Vaticanus 3864 (it contains the speeches only).

om. = is omitted by

When a name is bracketed it is meant that the person in question adopts a reading—e. g. *Linker* (*Dietsch*) means that Dietsch adopts Linker's conjecture.

C. SALLVSTI CRISPI
BELLVM CATILINAE.

OMNIS homines, qui sese student praestare 1
ceteris animalibus, summa ope niti decet ne vitam
silentio transeant veluti pecora, quae natura prona
atque ventri oboedientia finxit. sed nostra omnis 2
vis in animo et corpore sita est: animi imperio,
corporis servitio magis utimur; alterum nobis cum
dis, alterum cum beluis commune est. quo mihi 3
rectius videtur ingeni quam virium opibus gloriam
quaerere et, quoniam vita ipsa qua fruimur brevis
est, memoriam nostri quam maxume longam efficere.
nam divitiarum et formae gloria fluxa atque fragilis 4
est, virtus clara aeternaque habetur.

Sed diu magnum inter mortalis certamen fuit, 5
vine corporis an virtute animi res militaris magis
procederet. nam et prius quam incipias consulto 6
et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est. ita 7
utrumque per se indigens alterum alterius auxilio
eget. igitur initio reges—nam in terris nomen 2
imperi id primum fuit—divorsi pars ingenium, alii

C. SALLVSTII CRISPI BELLVM CATVLINARIV̄ INCIPIT OMNIS *P*

8 esse uidetur *PC* uidetur esse *C* esse *is omitted by z*

corpus exercebant: etiam tum vita hominum sine
cupiditate agitabatur, sua cuique satis placebant.
2 postea vero quam in Asia Cyrus, in Graecia Lace-
daemonii et Athenienses coepere urbis atque na-
tiones subigere, lubidinem dominandi causam belli
habere, maxumam gloriam in maxumo imperio
putare, tum demum periculo atque negotiis com-
pertum est, in bello plurumum ingenium posse.
3 quodsi regum atque imperatorum animi virtus in
pace ita ut in bello valeret, aequabilius atque con-
stantius sese res humanae haberent, neque aliud
alio ferri neque mutari ac misceri omnia cerneres.
4 nam imperium facile eis artibus retinetur, quibus
5 initio partum est. verum ubi pro labore desidia,
pro continentia et aequitate lubido atque superbia
invasere, fortuna simul cum moribus inmutatur.
6 ita imperium semper ad optumum quemque a
minus bono transfertur.

7 Quae homines arant navigant aedificant, virtuti
8 omnia parent. sed multi mortales dediti ventri
atque somno indocti incultique vitam sicuti pere-
grinantes transiere: quibus profecto contra naturam
corpus voluptati, anima oneri fuit. eorum ego
vitam mortemque iuxta aestumo, quoniam de utra-
9 que siletur. verum enimvero is demum mihi vivere
atque frui anima videtur, qui aliquo negotio inten-

8 est *after* compertum *is omitted in Jordan's text by mistake*

13 his *for* eis *Kvíčala*

22 transiere *C Priscianus Nonius* (*Dietsch*) transegere *PC Donatus Servius* (*Meusel Schmalz*) transire *and over the line* vel transegere P[1]

tus praeclari facinoris aut artis bonae famam quae-
rit. sed in magna copia rerum aliud alii natura
iter ostendit. pulchrum est bene facere rei publicae, **3**
etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est: vel pace vel
bello clarum fieri licet. et qui fecere et qui facta
aliorum scripsere, multi laudantur. ac mihi qui- 2
dem, tametsi haud quaquam par gloria sequitur
scriptorem et auctorem rerum, tamen in primis
arduum videtur res gestas scribere; primum quod
facta dictis exaequanda sunt, dehinc quia plerique
quae delicta reprehenderis, malivolentia et invidia
dicta putant; ubi de magna virtute atque gloria
bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu
putat, aequo animo accipit, supra ea veluti ficta
pro falsis ducit.

Sed ego adulescentulus initio sicuti plerique 3
studio ad rem publicam latus sum, ibique mihi
multa advorsa fuere. nam pro pudore, pro absti-
nentia, pro virtute audacia, largitio, avaritia vige-
bant. quae tametsi animus aspernabatur insolens 4
malarum artium, tamen inter tanta vitia imbecilla
aetas ambitione conrupta tenebatur: ac me cum ab 5
reliquorum malis moribus dissentirem, nihilo minus
honoris cupido eadem qua ceteros fama atque invi-
dia vexabat. igitur ubi animus ex multis miseriis **4**

8 auctorem *PC Charisius Gellius* (4. 15) actorem *C* (*Dietsch*)—auctorem et actorem *Schmidt*

14 ea *om. Gellius l. c.*

23 reliquis *is altered to* relicuorum *P* reliquorum *C* reliquis *C*(?)*z*

24 eadem qua *C* eadem quae *PC* eadem eademque *Kortte* (*Dietsch*) *some MSS have* eademque ceteros (?)

atque periculis requievit et mihi reliquam aetatem
a re publica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit
consilium socordia atque desidia bonum otium
conterere, neque vero agrum colundo aut venando
2 servilibus officiis intentum aetatem agere; sed a
quo incepto studioque me ambitio mala detinuerat,
eodem regressus statui res gestas populi Romani
carptim, ut quaeque memoria digna videbantur,
perscribere; eo magis, quod mihi a spe, metu, par-
3 tibus rei publicae animus liber erat. igitur de
Catilinae coniuratione quam verissume potero pau-
4 cis absolvam: nam id facinus in primis ego memo-
5 rabile existumo sceleris atque periculi novitate. de
cuius hominis moribus pauca prius explananda sunt,
quam initium narrandi faciam.

5 L. Catilina, nobili genere natus, fuit magna vi
et animi et corporis sed ingenio malo pravoque.
2 huic ab adulescentia bella intestina, caedes, rapinae,
discordia civilis grata fuere, ibique iuventutem
3 suam exercuit. corpus patiens inediae, algoris, vi-
4 giliae supra quam cuiquam credibile est. animus
audax subdolus varius, cuius rei lubet simulator
ac dissimulator, alieni adpetens, sui profusus, ar-
dens in cupiditatibus: satis eloquentiae, sapientiae
5 parum. vastus animus inmoderata, incredibilia,
6 nimis alta semper cupiebat. hunc post dominatio-
nem L. Sullae lubido maxuma invaserat rei publi-
cae capiundae, neque id quibus modis adsequeretur,

22 cuius rei libet *PC Nonius* cuius libet rei *C*

24 eloquentiae *PC Priscianus Fronto* loquentiae *Probus (in Gellius)*

dum sibi regnum pararet, quicquam pensi habebat.
agitabatur magis magisque in dies animus ferox 7
inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum, quae
utraque eis artibus auxerat, quas supra memoravi.
incitabant praeterea conrupti civitatis mores, quos 8
pessuma ac divorsa inter se mala, luxuria atque
avaritia, vexabant. res ipsa hortari videtur, quo- 9
niam de moribus civitatis tempus admonuit, supra
repetere ac paucis instituta maiorum domi militiae-
que, quo modo rem publicam habuerint quantam-
que reliquerint, ut paulatim inmutata ex pulcher-
rima atque optuma pessuma ac flagitiosissuma facta
sit, disserere.

Urbem Romam, sicuti ego accepi, condidere at- **6**
que habuere initio Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi
sedibus incertis vagabantur, cumque eis Aborigines,
genus hominum agreste, sine legibus, sine imperio,
liberum atque solutum. hi postquam in una moenia 2
convenere, dispari genere dissimili lingua, alii alio
more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam
facile coaluerint: ita brevi multitudo dispersa atque
vaga concordia civitas facta erat. sed postquam 3
res eorum civibus, moribus, agris aucta, satis prospe-
ra satisque pollens videbatur, sicuti pleraque mor-
talium habentur, invidia ex opulentia orta est.

11 ut *PC* et ut *C* | pulcherrima *with an* i *here but in* 20. 3, 52. 20 *with a* u *P with an* i *twice in V*

12 atque optuma *z Augustine, is omitted by PC*

19 alii *C* alius *PC*

21 ita...facta erat (*or* est) *z Augustine* (*Ep.* 138, 10 apud eos (auctores Romanos) enim ita legitur: breui... facta erat) *omitted by PC* (*Dietsch*)—*see notes*

23 ciuibus *PC* legibus *z Augustine* (*in another place*)

4 igitur reges populique finitumi bello temptare, pauci
ex amicis auxilio esse: nam ceteri metu perculsi a
5 periculis aberant. at Romani domi militiaeque
intenti festinare, parare, alius alium hortari, hosti-
bus obviam ire, libertatem patriam parentisque
armis tegere. post ubi pericula virtute propulerant,
sociis atque amicis auxilia portabant, magisque dan-
dis quam accipiundis benificiis amicitias parabant.
6 imperium legitumum, nomen imperi regium habe-
bant. delecti, quibus corpus annis infirmum, inge-
nium sapientia validum erat, rei publicae consulta-
bant: ei vel aetate vel curae similitudine patres
7 appellabantur. post ubi regium imperium, quod
initio conservandae libertatis atque augendae rei
publicae fuerat, in superbiam dominationemque se
convortit, inmutato more annua imperia binosque
imperatores sibi fecere: eo modo minume posse
putabant per licentiam insolescere animum huma-
num.

7 Sed ea tempestate coepere se quisque magis ex-
tollere magisque ingenium in promptu habere.
2 nam regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt sem-
3 perque eis aliena virtus formidulosa est. sed civi-
tas incredibile memoratu est adepta libertate quan-
tum brevi creverit: tanta cupido gloriae incesserat.
4 iam primum iuventus, simul ac belli patiens erat, in
castris per laborem usum militiae discebat magisque

15 se *om. z*

27 per laborem usu militiae *P* per laborem usu (*or* usum) militiam *pC* per laboris usum militiam *z*—per laborem usu militiam *Dietsch Schmalz* simul laboris ac belli patiens erat, in castris usu militiam discebat *Gründel*.

in decoris armis et militaribus equis quam in scortis
atque conviviis lubidinem habebant. igitur tali- 5
bus viris non labor insolitus, non locus ullus asper
aut arduus erat, non armatus hostis formidulosus:
virtus omnia domuerat. sed gloriae maxumum 6
certamen inter ipsos erat: se quisque hostem ferire,
murum ascendere, conspici, dum tale facinus face-
ret, properabat; eas divitias, eam bonam famam
magnamque nobilitatem putabant. laudis avidi,
pecuniae liberales erant; gloriam ingentem, divitias
honestas volebant. memorare possem quibus in 7
locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus
parva manu fuderit, quas urbis natura munitas
pugnando ceperit, ni ea res longius nos ab incepto
traheret.

Sed profecto fortuna in omni re dominatur; ea **8**
res cunctas ex lubidine magis quam ex vero cele-
brat obscuratque. Atheniensium res gestae, sicuti 2
ego aestumo, satis amplae magnificaeque fuere,
verum aliquanto minores tamen quam fama fe-
runtur. sed quia provenere ibi scriptorum magna 3
ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta
pro maxumis celebrantur. ita eorum qui fecere 4

3 labor *here and J.* 100. 4 *PC.* (*Servius, on Verg. A.* I 253, *says:* Sallustius paene ubique 'labos' posuit. Labos *in Or Cott* 1 *or Mac* 18 *V*)

6 se *PC* sic se *C* (*Kritz*). *Gründel proposes to re-write the sentence thus* ac si quisque hostem ferire, murum ascendere properabat, conspici, dum tale facinus faceret, eas divitias e. q. s.

11 possum *P*[1] *Servius*

23 qui ea fecere *P* (*the* ea *having been afterwards*

virtus tanta habetur, quantum eam verbis potuere
5 extollere praeclara ingenia. at populo Romano
numquam ea copia fuit, quia prudentissumus quis-
que maxume negotiosus erat: ingenium nemo sine
corpore exercebat; optumus quisque facere quam
dicere, sua ab aliis benefacta laudari quam ipse
9 aliorum narrare malebat. igitur domi militiaeque
boni mores colebantur, concordia maxuma, minuma
avaritia erat, ius bonumque apud eos non legibus
2 magis quam natura valebat. iurgia discordias si-
multates cum hostibus exercebant, cives cum civi-
bus de virtute certabant. in suppliciis deorum
3 magnifici, domi parci, in amicos fideles erant. dua-
bus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat
4 aequitate seque remque publicam curabant. quarum
rerum ego maxuma documenta haec habeo, quod
in bello saepius vindicatum est in eos, qui contra im-
perium in hostem pugnaverant quique tardius revo-
cati proelio excesserant, quam qui signa relinquere
5 aut pulsi loco cedere ausi erant; in pace vero, quod
benificiis magis quam metu imperium agitabant, et
accepta iniuria ignoscere quam persequi malebant.

10 Sed ubi labore atque iustitia res publica crevit,
reges magni bello domiti, nationes ferae et populi
ingentes vi subacti, Carthago aemula imperi Romani
ab stirpe interiit, cuncta maria terraeque patebant:

added by the writer: in P¹ it is added by a later hand) *C*
ea *om. z Jerome*

1 eam *one of C Jerome* ea *PC*

13 amicis *z*

21 magis quam *C* magis *om. PC*

25 ingentes *om. PC* (*one*)

saevire fortuna ac miscere omnia coepit. qui la- 2
bores, pericula, dubias atque asperas res facile tole-
raverant, eis otium divitiae, optanda alias, oneri
miseriaeque fuere. igitur primo pecuniae, deinde 3
imperi cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium
malorum fuere. namque avaritia fidem probitatem 4
ceterasque artis bonas subvortit; pro his superbiam
crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere
edocuit. ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit, 5
aliud clausum in pectore aliud in lingua promptum
habere, amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re sed ex
commodo aestumare magisque voltum quam in-
genium bonum habere. haec primo paulatim cres- 6
cere, interdum vindicari; post ubi contagio quasi
pestilentia invasit, civitas inmutata, imperium ex
iustissumo atque optumo crudele intolerandumque
factum.

Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos 11
hominum exercebat, quod tamen vitium propius
virtutem erat. nam gloriam honorem imperium 2
bonus et ignavos aeque sibi exoptant; sed ille vera
via nititur, huic quia bonae artes desunt, dolis atque
fallaciis contendit. avaritia pecuniae studium habet, 3
quam nemo sapiens concupivit; ea quasi venenis
malis inbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat,
semper infinita insatiabilis est, neque copia neque

3 diuitiae *PC* diuitiaeque *C* | optanda alias *P* optanda alia P^1 optandae aliis p^1 *C*

4 primo imperi, deinde pecuniae *Nipperdey* (*Wirz*) | eae *for* ea *Nipperdey*

20 uirtutem *PC Priscianus* (*quoting for* ‘*prope*’ *with acc.*) *Arusianus* uirtuti *C*

4 inopia minuitur. sed postquam L. Sulla armis re-
cepta re publica bonis initiis malos eventus habuit,
rapere omnes, trahere, domum alius alius agros
cupere, neque modum neque modestiam victores
habere, foeda crudeliaque in civis facinora facere.
5 huc adcedebat quod L. Sulla exercitum, quem in
Asia ductaverat, quo sibi fidum faceret, contra
morem maiorum luxuriose nimisque liberaliter
habuerat. loca amoena, voluptaria facile in otio
6 ferocis militum animos molliverant. ibi primum
insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare potare,
signa tabulas pictas vasa caelata mirari, ea privatim
et publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profana-
7 que omnia polluere. igitur ei milites, postquam
victoriam adepti sunt, nihil reliqui victis fecere.
quippe secundae res sapientium animos fatigant, ne
illi conruptis moribus victoriae temperarent.

12 Postquam divitiae honori esse coepere et eas
gloria imperium potentia sequebatur, hebescere
virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro ma-
2 livolentia duci coepit. igitur ex divitiis iuventutem
luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere;
rapere, consumere, sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere,
pudorem pudicitiam, divina atque humana pro-

7 asia *PC* asiam *C*

12 statuas *is written over the line by p, and one MS has* signa statuas tabulas *according to Wirz*

14 posquam *P acc. to Wirz, perhaps the spelling of Sallust's time*

16 ne *PC* nedum *C* (*a few*). *Priscian quotes the passage twice, once with* ne, *once with* nedum

17 *Dietsch read* temperarint *in* 1859. *He now stops* fatigant: ne *so Schmalz*

miscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere. operae 3
pretium est, cum domos atque villas cognoveris
in urbium modum exaedificatas, visere templa
deorum, quae nostri maiores, religiosissumi mor-
tales, fecere. verum illi delubra deorum pietate, 4
domos suas gloria decorabant, neque victis quic-
quam praeter iniuriae licentiam eripiebant. at hi 5
contra ignavissumi homines per summum scelus
omnia ea sociis adimere, quae fortissumi viri victores
reliquerant; proinde quasi iniuriam facere id demum
esset imperio uti. nam quid ea memorem, quae **13**
nisi eis qui videre nemini credibilia sunt, a privatis
conpluribus subvorsos montis, maria constrata esse?
quibus mihi videntur ludibrio fuisse divitiae, quippe 2
quas honeste habere licebat, abuti per turpitudinem
properabant. sed lubido ganeae ceterique cultus 3
non minor incesserat: vescendi causa terra marique
omnia exquirere, dormire prius quam somni cupido
esset, non famem aut sitim neque frigus neque lassi-
tudinem opperiri sed ea omnia luxu antecapere.
haec iuventutem, ubi familiares opes defecerant, 4
ad facinora incendebant. animus inbutus malis 5
artibus haud facile lubidinibus carebat; eo profusius
omnibus modis quaestui atque sumptui deditus erat.

In tanta tamque conrupta civitate Catilina, id **14**
quod factu facillumum erat, omnium flagitiorum
atque facinorum circum se tamquam stipatorum

3 exaedificatas *PC Priscianus* aedificatas *C*

13 constrata *PC* constructa *C* (*Klimscha*) contracta *z*

26 flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum *z* (?) (*Freudenberg*)

27 stipationem *Binsfeld*

2 catervas habebat. nam quicumque inpudicus a-
dulter ganeo bona patria laceraverat, quique alie-
num aes grande conflaverat, quo flagitium aut
3 facinus redimeret, praeterea omnes undique parri-
cidae sacrilegi convicti iudiciis aut pro factis iudi-
cium timentes, ad hoc quos manus atque lingua
periurio aut sanguine civili alebat, postremo omnes
quos flagitium egestas conscius animus exagitabat,
4 ei Catilinae proxumi familiaresque erant. quodsi
quis etiam a culpa vacuus in amicitiam eius in-
ciderat, cotidiano usu atque inlecebris facile par
similisque ceteris efficiebatur. sed maxume adu-
5 lescentium familiaritates adpetebat; eorum animi
molles et fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur.
6 nam ut cuiusque studium ex aetate flagrabat, aliis
scorta praebere aliis canes atque equos mercari,
postremo neque sumptui neque modestiae suae par-
cere, dum illos obnoxios fidosque sibi faceret.

15 Iam primum adulescens Catilina multa nefanda
stupra fecerat, cum virgine nobili, cum sacerdote
2 Vestae, alia huiuscemodi contra ius fasque. pos-
tremo captus amore Aureliae Orestillae, cuius prae-
ter formam nihil umquam bonus laudavit, quod ea

2 ganeo *om. P (but added in the margin by p)* adulter alea (ganeo *above the line*) *P*[1] *and* alea *appears in C. From* alea *Putsche conjectured* aleo, *and Koechly* aleator (*cp. Cic. in Cat.* 2. 10. 23). inpudicus ganeo aleo (*or* aleator) *Wölfflin—rightly*

14 molles et fluxi *is Jordan's correction, supported by one MS only* molles etiam et fluxi *P* (*W. Wagner Wirz Schmalz*) molles aetate et (*or* et aetate) fluxi *C* (*but the* aetate *clearly comes from below*)

17 sumptu *P* sumptui *p* (*acc. to Wirz*) | molestiae *Madvig*

nubere illi dubitabat, timens privignum adulta
aetate, pro certo creditur necato filio vacuam domum
scelestis nuptiis fecisse. quae quidem res mihi in 3
primis videtur causa fuisse facinus maturandi.
namque animus inpurus, dis hominibusque infestus, 4
neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat: ita
conscientia mentem excitam vastabat. igitur colos 5
ei exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo modo tardus
incessus; prorsus in facie voltuque vecordia inerat.
sed iuventutem, quam, ut supra diximus, inlexerat, 16
multis modis mala facinora edocebat. ex illis testis 2
signatoresque falsos commodare; fidem fortunas
pericula vilia habere, post ubi eorum famam atque
pudorem adtriverat, maiora alia imperabat. si 3
causa peccandi in praesens minus subpetebat, nihilo minus insontis sicuti sontis circumvenire, iugulare; scilicet, ne per otium torpescerent manus
aut animus, gratuito potius malus atque crudelis
erat. eis amicis sociisque confisus Catilina, simul 4
quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat et
quod plerique Sullani milites largius suo usi rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores civile bellum
exoptabant, opprimundae rei publicae consilium

1 adulta *PC* adultum *C* (*Schmalz*)

4 facinus *P* maturandi *is ill-written in P and corrected by p* facinoris maturandi *C* (*Dietsch Wirz*)

7 color ei exsanguis *P* (exanguis *P* exsanguis *p*) color eius *or* colore exsanguis *or* color exsanguis *C*. *No MS has* colos, *but Probus in two places says* (1) color coloris; quamvis Sallustius: igitur colos exsanguis: (2) colos coloris; Sallustius; igitur colos exsanguis; sed melius 'color' dicitur

11 edocebat *pC* edocuit *P*

cèpit. in Italia nullus exercitus, Cn. Pompeius in extremis terris bellum gerebat; ipsi consulatum petenti magna spes, senatus nihil sane intentus: tutae tranquillaeque res omnes, sed ea prorsus opportuna Catilinae.

17 Igitur circiter kalendas Iunias L. Caesare et
C. Figulo consulibus primo singulos appellare, hor-
tari alios alios temptare; opes suas, inparatam rem
publicam, magna praemia coniurationis docere.
2 ubi satis explorata sunt quae voluit, in unum om-
nis convocat quibus maxuma necessitudo et pluru-
3 mum audaciae inerat. eo convenere senatorii ordinis
P. Lentulus Sura, P. Autronius, L. Cassius Longi-
nus, C. Cethegus, P. et Ser. Sullae Ser. filii, L.
Vargunteius, Q. Annius, M. Porcius Laeca, L.
4 Bestia, Q. Curius; praeterea ex equestri ordine
M. Fulvius Nobilior, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius
Capito, C. Cornelius; ad hoc multi ex coloniis et
5 municipiis, domi nobiles. erant praeterea conplures
paulo occultius consili huiusce participes nobiles,
quos magis dominationis spes hortabatur quam in-
6 opia aut alia necessitudo. ceterum iuventus plera-
que, sed maxume nobilium, Catilinae inceptis fave-
bat, quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere
copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem
7 malebant. fuere item ea tempestate qui crederent
M. Licinium Crassum non ignarum eius consili
fuisse: quia Cn. Pompeius invisus ipsi magnum
exercitum ductabat, cuiusvis opes voluisse contra

3 petendi *P* petendi *or* petenti *C* (petenti *p*[1])
22 alia *PC* aliqua *C*

illius potentiam crescere, simul confisum, si coniuratio valuisset, facile apud illos principem se fore.

Sed antea item coniuravere pauci contra rem 18
publicam, in quis Catilina fuit; de qua quam ve- 2
rissume potero dicam. L. Tullo et M'. Lepido
consulibus P. Autronius et P. Sulla designati consules legibus ambitus interrogati poenas dederant.
post paulo Catilina pecuniarum repetundarum reus 3
prohibitus erat consulatum petere, quod intra legitumos dies profiteri nequiverit. erat eodem tem- 4
pore Cn. Piso, adulescens nobilis summae audaciae, egens factiosus, quem ad perturbandam rem publicam inopia atque mali mores stimulabant. cum 5
hoc Catilina et Autronius circiter nonas Decembris consilio communicato parabant in Capitolio kalendis Ianuariis L. Cottam et L. Torquatum consules interficere, ipsi fascibus correptis Pisonem cum exercitu ad optinendas duas Hispanias mittere. ea 6
re cognita rursus in nonas Februarias consilium caedis transtulerant. iam tum non consulibus modo 7
sed plerisque senatoribus perniciem machinabantur.
quodni Catilina maturasset pro curia signum sociis 8
dare, eo die post conditam urbem Romam pessumum facinus patratum foret. quia nondum frequentes armati convenerant, ea res consilium

5 quis *Diomedes* quibus *PC* (*see notes*)

11 nequiuerit *PC* nequiuerat *C* (*inferior*) *z* (*Wirz Schmalz Scheindler etc.*). *Dietsch brackets* quod...nequiverit

16 comunicato *in Jordan's text is a misprint*

20 *Dietsch marks a lacuna after* cognita

19 diremit. postea Piso in citeriorem Hispaniam
quaestor pro praetore missus est adnitente Crasso,
quod eum infestum inimicum Cn. Pompeio cogno-
2 verat. neque tamen senatus provinciam invitus
dederat, quippe foedum hominem a re publica pro-
cul esse volebat; simul quia boni conplures prae-
sidium in eo putabant et iam tum potentia Pompei
3 formidulosa erat. sed is Piso in provincia ab
equitibus Hispanis, quos in exercitu ductabat, iter
4 faciens occisus est. sunt qui ita dicant, imperia
eius iniusta superba crudelia barbaros nequivisse
5 pati; alii autem equites illos Cn. Pompei veteres
fidosque clientis voluntate eius Pisonem adgressos;
numquam Hispanos praeterea tale facinus fecisse,
sed imperia saeva multa ante perpessos. nos eam
6 rem in medio relinquemus. de superiore coniura-
tione satis dictum.

20 Catilina ubi eos, quos paulo ante memoravi,
convenisse videt, tametsi cum singulis multa saepe
egerat, tamen in rem fore credens universos appel-
lare et cohortari, in abditam partem aedium secessit
atque ibi omnibus arbitris procul amotis orationem
huiuscemodi habuit.
2 'Ni virtus fidesque vostra spectata mihi forent,

8 prouincia *C* prouinciam *PC*
9 quos in *PC* quos sine *z* (*Dietsch*)
10 dicant *PC* dicunt *C* (*Kritz*)
15 antea *most editors.* antea PP^1 (*acc. to Dietsch and Wirz*)
21 secessit *C* (*Wirz*) secedit *PC* (*Dietsch Schmalz*)
24 spectata *CV* expectata *P* probata *p* | forent *PC* foret *pVz Servius* (*Meusel*)

nequiquam opportuna res cecidisset; spes magna,
dominatio in manibus frustra fuissent, neque ego 3
per ignaviam aut vana ingenia incerta pro certis
captarem. sed quia multis et magnis tempestati-
bus vos cognovi fortis fidosque mihi, eo animus
ausus est maxumum atque pulcherrumum facinus
incipere, simul quia vobis eadem quae mihi bona
malaque esse intellexi: nam idem velle atque idem 4
nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est. sed ego quae 5
mente agitavi omnes iam antea divorsi audistis.
ceterum mihi in dies magis animus accenditur, cum 6
considero, quae condicio vitae futura sit, nisi nos-
met ipsi vindicamus in libertatem. nam postquam 7
res publica in paucorum potentium ius atque dicio-
nem concessit, semper illis reges tetrarchae vecti-
gales esse, populi nationes stipendia pendere;
ceteri omnes, strenui boni nobiles atque ignobiles,
volgus fuimus sine gratia, sine auctoritate, eis ob-
noxii, quibus, si res publica valeret, formidini
essemus. itaque omnis gratia potentia honos divi- 8
tiae apud illos sunt aut ubi illi volunt; nobis reli-
quere pericula repulsas iudicia egestatem. quae 9
quousque tandem patiemini fortissumi viri? nonne
emori per virtutem praestat quam vitam miseram
atque inhonestam, ubi alienae superbiae ludibrio

11 magis magisque *Vz*

13 ipsi *p in margin V* ipsos *PC* (p^1)

17 strenui boni nobiles atque (*p puts* et *in the margin*) ignobiles *PC* strenui nobiles atque ignobiles (*so Kuhlmann*) *or* boni atque nobiles ignobiles *C* boni atque strenui nobiles et ignobiles *V*. *Aurelius Victor, in imitation of Sallust perhaps, writes* boni malique nobiles atque ignobiles (*see notes*)

23 o fortissimi *CV* o *om. C. written over the line* PP^1

10 fueris, per dedecus amittere? verum enimvero pro
deum atque hominum fidem victoria in manu vobis
est, viget aetas, animus valet; contra illis annis
atque divitiis omnia consenuerunt. tantum modo
11 incepto opus est, cetera res expediet. etenim quis
mortalium, cui virile ingenium est, tolerare potest,
illis divitias superare, quas profundant in extruendo
mari et montibus coaequandis, nobis rem familiarem
etiam ad necessaria deesse? illos binas aut amplius
domos continuare, nobis larem familiarem nusquam
12 ullum esse? cum tabulas signa toreumata emunt,
nova diruunt, alia aedificant, postremo omnibus
modis pecuniam trahunt vexant, tamen summa lu-
13 bidine divitias suas vincere nequeunt. at nobis est
domi inopia, foris aes alienum, mala res, spes multo
asperior; denique quid reliqui habemus praeter
14 miseram animam? quin igitur expergiscimini? en
illa illa quam saepe optastis libertas, praeterea di-
vitiae decus gloria in oculis sita sunt. fortuna
15 omnia ea victoribus praemia posuit. res tempus
pericula egestas, belli spolia magnifica magis quam
16 oratio mea vos hortantur. vel imperatore vel milite
me utimini; neque animus neque corpus a vobis

1 admittere *for* amittere *Hartel* (*Scheindler*)

2 in manu uobis *p* (*in margin*) *CV* (*Wirz*) in manu nobis *PC* (*Dietsch Schmalz*) nobis in manu *Priscianus* in manibus *z*

7 extruendo *PCV* '*Acron*' extrudendo *J. F. Gronovius* (*Dietsch*)

10 familiarem *om. Eussner*

17 en *om. V*

22 hortantur *P* (*or p? in margin*) *Vz* hortentur *PC*

23 utimini *PC* utemini *pCV* (*Wirz*)

aberit. haec ipsa, ut spero, vobiscum una consul 17
agam, nisi forte me animus fallit et vos servire
magis quam imperare parati estis'.

Postquam accepere ea homines, quibus mala **21**
abunde omnia erant, sed neque res neque spes bona
ulla, tametsi illis quieta movere magna merces
videbatur, tamen postulavere plerique, ut propone-
ret, quae condicio belli foret, quae praemia armis
peterent, quid ubique opis aut spei haberent. tum 2
Catilina polliceri tabulas novas, proscriptionem lo-
cupletium, magistratus, sacerdotia, rapinas, alia
omnia, quae bellum atque lubido victorum fert.
praeterea esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in 3
Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum,
consili sui participes; petere consulatum C. Anto-
nium, quem sibi collegam fore speraret, hominem
et familiarem et omnibus necessitudinibus circum-
ventum; cum eo se consulem initium agundi fac-
turum. ad hoc maledictis increpabat omnis bonos, 4
suorum unum quemque nominans laudare: ad-
monebat alium egestatis alium cupiditatis suae,
conpluris periculi aut ignominiae, multos victoriae
Sullanae, quibus ea praedae fuerat. postquam om- 5
nium animos alacris videt, cohortatus, ut petitionem
suam curae haberent, conventum dimisit. fuere ea **22**
tempestate qui dicerent Catilinam oratione habita
cum ad iusiurandum popularis sceleris sui adigeret,
humani corporis sanguinem vino permixtum in pa-
teris circumtulisse; inde cum post execrationem 2
omnes degustavissent, sicuti in sollemnibus sacris

23 praedae fuerat *p* praeda fuit *P*
30 sicuti *PC* sicut *C* sicut *in Jordan's text a misprint*

fieri consuevit, aperuisse consilium suum†atque eo
dictitare fecisse, quo inter se fidi magis forent,
3 alius alii tanti facinoris conscii. non nulli ficta et
haec et multa praeterea existumabant ab eis, qui
Ciceronis invidiam, quae postea orta est, leniri
credebant atrocitate sceleris eorum, qui poenas
dederant. nobis ea res pro magnitudine parum
comperta est.

23 Sed in ea coniuratione fuit Q. Curius, natus
haud obscuro loco, flagitiis atque facinoribus co-
opertus, quem censores senatu probri gratia move-
2 rant. huic homini non minor vanitas inerat quam
audacia: neque reticere, quae audierat, neque sua-
met ipse scelera occultare, prorsus neque dicere
3 neque facere quicquam pensi habebat. erat ei cum
Fulvia muliere nobili vetus consuetudo; cui cum
minus gratus esset, quia inopia minus largiri pote-
rat, repente glorians maria montisque polliceri
coepit et minari interdum ferro, ni sibi obnoxia

1 atque eo dictitare (dicto *a few Cz*) fecisse *PC. Some of C however omit the words or have them crossed out; other MSS have acc. to Dietsch* dictam rem, dicta re, *or* dictas res.—*om. or write* idque eo fecisse *Ritschl* dictitare *om. Selling* idque eo dicitur fecisse *Bergk* atque eo dixisse eam rem fecisse *Madvig* atque eo dictitant rem fecisse *W. Wagner* suum; atque eo dictitarent eam rem fecisse *Krämer* atque eo dixisse ita se fecisse *F. Uber* dictitavere *Scheindler*

10 *Most editors write* copertus. *P has* co*optus (*an* h *being erased*) *i.e.* coopertus, *and so C Nonius. Gellius quotes twice as coming from Sallust* foenoribus copertus

19 et *om. z* (*'perhaps rightly', says Jordan*)

foret ; postremo ferocius agitare quam solitus erat.
at Fulvia insolentiae Curi causa cognita tale peri- 4
culum rei publicae haud occultum habuit, sed sub-
lato auctore de Catilinae coniuratione quae quoque
modo audierat conpluribus narravit. ea res in 5
primis studia hominum accendit ad consulatum
mandandum M. Tullio Ciceroni. namque antea 6
pleraque nobilitas invidia aestuabat et quasi pcllui
consulatum credebant, si eum quamvis egregius
homo novos adeptus foret. sed ubi periculum ad-
venit, invidia atque superbia post fuere. igitur **24**
comitiis habitis consules declarantur M. Tullius et
C. Antonius, quod factum primo popularis coniura- 2
tionis concusserat. neque tamen Catilinae furor
minuebatur, sed in dies plura agitare, arma per
Italiam locis opportunis parare, pecuniam sua aut
amicorum fide sumptam mutuam Faesulas ad Man-
lium quendam portare, qui postea princeps fuit
belli faciundi. ea tempestate plurimos cuiusque 3
generis homines adscivisse sibi dicitur, mulieres
etiam aliquot *inpudicas.* per eas se Catilina cre- 4
debat posse servitia urbana sollicitare, urbem incen-
dere, viros earum vel adiungere sibi vel interficere.
sed in eis erat Sempronia, quae multa saepe virilis **25**
audaciae facinora conmiserat. haec mulier genere 2
atque forma, praeterea viro, liberis satis fortunata

1 ferocius agitare *PC* (agitare ferocius *in Jordan's text is a misprint*)

4 quoque modo *or* et quomodo *C* quo modo *PC* quoquo modo *z* (*Nipperdey*)

26 *Jordan attributes* uiro liberis *to C, but it is doubtful whether* atque *is omitted by any of these, though in*

fuit; litteris Graecis et Latinis docta, psallere sal-
tare elegantius, quam necesse est probae, multa
3 alia, quae instrumenta luxuriae sunt. sed ei cariora
semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit;
pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile dis-
4 cerneres. sed ea saepe antehac fidem prodiderat,
creditum abiuraverat, caedis conscia fuerat, luxuria
5 atque inopia praeceps abierat. verum ingenium
eius haud absurdum: posse versus facere, iocum
movere, sermone uti vel modesto vel molli vel
procaci; prorsus multae facetiae multusque lepos
inerat.

26 His rebus conparatis Catilina nihilo minus in
proxumum annum consulatum petebat, sperans, si
designatus foret, facile se ex voluntate Antonio
usurum. neque interea quietus erat, sed omnibus
2 modis insidias parabat Ciceroni. neque illi tamen
3 ad cavendum dolus aut astutiae deerant. namque
a principio consulatus sui multa pollicendo per
Fulviam effecerat, ut Q. Curius, de quo paulo ante
4 memoravi, consilia Catilinae sibi proderet. ad hoc
conlegam suum Antonium pactione provinciae per-
pulerat, ne contra rem publicam sentiret; circum
se praesidia amicorum atque clientium occulte habe-
5 bat. postquam dies comitiorum venit et Catilinae

two it is added over the line by the first hand, uiro atque liberis *PC*

1 psallere saltare *C Macrobius* psallere et saltare *PC* (*the* saltare *in P is corrected from* cantare *which* P^1 *has, but with* saltare *in the margin*) (*Meusel*)

11 multi sales *p, over the line, acc. to Wirz, which some MSS have in the text* | que *om. P* (*Scheindler*)

neque petitio neque insidiae, quas consulibus in
campo fecerat, prospere cessere, constituit bellum
facere et extrema omnia experiri, quoniam quae
occulte temptaverat aspera foedaque evenerant.
igitur C. Manlium Faesulas atque in eam partem **27**
Etruriae, Septimium quendam Camertem in agrum
Picenum, C. Iulium in Apuliam dimisit; praeterea
alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore
credebat. interea Romae multa simul moliri, con- 2
sulibus insidias tendere, parare incendia, opportuna
loca armatis hominibus obsidere, ipse cum telo esse,
item alios iubere, hortari uti semper intenti parati-
que essent, dies noctisque festinare vigilare, neque
insomniis neque labore fatigari. postremo ubi 3
multa agitanti nihil procedit, rursus intempesta
nocte coniurationis principes convocat per M. Por-
cium Laecam, ibique multa de ignavia eorum ques- 4
tus, docet se Manlium praemisisse ad eam multitu-
dinem, quam ad capiunda arma paraverat, item
alios in alia loca opportuna, qui initium belli face-
rent, seque ad exercitum proficisci cupere, si prius
Ciceronem oppressisset; eum suis consiliis multum
officere. igitur perterritis ac dubitantibus ceteris **28**

1 consulibus *PC* consuli *C* (consulibus P^1 consuli p^1 *with* ciceroni *written over the line*) *Dietsch brackets, and Wirz omits the word. Nipperdey would strike out* quas... fecerat | in campo *PC om. C* (in campo P^1 *om.* p^1)

9 simul *C* sibi *P* | consulibus *PC* consuli *C*. *Dietsch brackets, and Wirz omits the word*

12 paratique *PC* parati *C*

16 per *PC* (*in* P^1 *it is added by corrector*) penes *Palmieri* (*Linker Dietsch*) ad *Wirz* (*Schmalz*) propere ad *Rauchenstein*

C. Cornelius eques Romanus operam suam pollici-
tus et cum eo L. Vargunteius senator constituere
ea nocte paulo post cum armatis hominibus sicuti
salutatum introire ad Ciceronem ac de inproviso
2 domi suae inparatum confodere. Curius ubi in-
tellegit, quantum periculum consuli inpendeat pro-
pere per Fulviam Ciceroni dolum qui parabatur
3 enuntiat. ita illi ianua prohibiti tantum facinus
frustra susceperant.

4 Interea Manlius in Etruria plebem sollicitare,
egestate simul ac dolore iniuriae novarum rerum
cupidam, quod Sullae dominatione agros bonaque
omnia amiserat, praeterea latrones cuiusque generis,
quorum in ea regione magna copia erat, non nullos
ex Sullanis coloniis, quibus lubido atque luxuria ex
29 magnis rapinis nihil reliqui fecerat. ea cum Cice-
roni nuntiarentur, ancipiti malo permotus, quod
neque urbem ab insidiis privato consilio longius
tueri poterat, neque exercitus Manli quantus aut
quo consilio foret satis conpertum habebat, rem ad
senatum refert, iam antea volgi rumoribus exagita-
2 tam. itaque quod plerumque in atroci negotio
solet, senatus decrevit, darent operam consules ne-
3 quid res publica detrimenti caperet. ea potestas

3 *after* hominibus *Dietsch marks a lacuna*

5 domu *is corrected into* domi *P* domi *C* domui *C* (*Dietsch Schmalz*)

6 periculum *PC* periculi P^1 *C* (*Dietsch*)

14 nonnullos exillanis *p* nonnullas (*or* -is) exulanas *P* nonnullos ex sillanis colonis P^1

16 fecerat PP^1 *C* fecerant pp^1C (*the majority*)

21 exagitatum *Kortte* (*and most editors*) agitatam *Nipperdey*

per senatum more Romano magistratui maxuma
permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, co-
ercere omnibus modis socios atque civis, domi mili-
tiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere;
aliter sine populi iussu nullius earum rerum consuli
ius est. post paucos dies L. Saenius senator in **30**
senatu litteras recitavit, quas Faesulis adlatas sibi
dicebat, in quibus scriptum erat C. Manlium arma
cepisse cum magna multitudine ante diem VI ka-
lendas Novembris. simul, id quod in tali re solet, 2
alii portenta atque prodigia nuntiabant, alii con-
ventus fieri, arma portari, Capuae atque in Apulia
servile bellum moveri. igitur senati decreto Q. 3
Marcius Rex Faesulas Q. Metellus Creticus in
Apuliam circumque ea loca missi—ei utrique ad 4
urbem imperatores erant, impediti ne triumpharent
calumnia paucorum, quibus omnia honesta atque
inhonesta vendere mos erat—, sed praetores Q. 5
Pompeius Rufus Capuam Q. Metellus Celer in
agrum Picenum, eisque permissum, uti pro tempore
atque periculo exercitum compararent. ad hoc, 6
siquis indicavisset de coniuratione, quae contra rem
publicam facta erat, praemium servo libertatem et
sestertia centum, libero inpunitatem eius rei et ses-
tertia ducenta, itemque decrevere, uti gladiatoriae 7

5 nullius *PC* nulli *C*

13 senati *P* (*almost alone*) *Nonius* (*quoting for the genitive*)—*see* 36. 5, 53. 1

23 *after* praemium *C have* decreuere | *instead of* et sestertia centum *P has an abbreviation for* ex senatus consulto

24 & s. ter ducenta milia *P*

familiae Capuam et in cetera municipia distribuerentur pro cuiusque opibus, Romae per totam urbem vigiliae haberentur eisque minores magistratus praeessent.

31 Quibus rebus permota civitas atque inmutata
urbis facies erat. ex summa laetitia atque lascivia,
quae diuturna quies pepererat, repente omnis tris-
2 titia invasit: festinare trepidare, neque loco neque
homini cuiquam satis credere, neque bellum gerere
neque pacem habere, suo quisque metu pericula
3 metiri. ad hoc mulieres, quibus rei publicae mag-
nitudine belli timor insolitus incesserat, afflictare
sese, manus supplices ad caelum tendere, miserari
parvos liberos, rogitare, omnia pavere, superbia
atque deliciis omissis sibi patriaeque diffidere.
4 At Catilinae crudelis animus eadem illa move-
bat, tametsi praesidia parabantur et ipse lege
5 Plautia interrogatus erat ab L. Paulo. postremo
dissimulandi causa aut sui expurgandi, sicut iurgio
6 lacessitus foret, in senatum venit. tum M. Tullius
consul, sive praesentiam eius timens sive ira con-
motus, orationem habuit luculentam atque utilem
7 rei publicae, quam postea scriptam edidit. sed ubi
ille adsedit, Catilina, ut erat paratus ad dissimu-
landa omnia, demisso voltu voce supplici postulare
a patribus coepit nequid de se temere crederent;

3 minores *C* maiores *P*

14 rogitare omnia, pavere *Wirz* rogitare omnia, omnia pavere *Eussner*

19 aut *C* ut *P* ut et *or* et ut *C* | sicut *or* sicuti *C* si*t (n *erased*) *P* si P^1 (*with* cut *over the line by* p^1) si cuius *J. F. Gronovius* (*Schmalz*) sicubi *Linker* (*Dietsch*) si *Wirz*

ea familia ortum, ita se ab adulescentia vitam instituisse, ut omnia bona in spe haberet. ne existumarent sibi patricio homini, cuius ipsius atque maiorum pluruma beneficia in plebem Romanam essent, perdita re publica opus esse, cum eam servaret M. Tullius, inquilinus civis urbis Romae. ad hoc maledicta alia cum adderet, obstrepere 8
omnes, hostem atque parricidam vocare. tum ille 9
furibundus 'quoniam quidem circumventus' inquit 'ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam'. deinde se ex curia domum proripuit. **32**
ibi multa ipse secum volvens, quod neque insidiae consuli procedebant et ab incendio intellegebat urbem vigiliis munitam, optumum factu credens exercitum augere ac prius quam legiones scriberentur multa antecapere, quae bello usui forent, nocte intempesta cum paucis in Manliana castra profectus est. sed Cethego atque Lentulo ceterisque, quorum 2
cognoverat promptam audaciam, mandat quibus rebus possent opes factionis confirment, insidias consuli maturent, caedem incendia aliaque belli facinora parent: sese prope diem cum magno exercitu ad urbem accessurum.

4 plebem *MSS* populum *Gruter* (*followed by most editors*) in rem publicam *Kortte*

11 restinguam *pC* restingam *P* extinguam *C* (*in Cic. p. Mur.* 25. 51 *also the MSS vary between* exstincturum *and* restincturum)

12 *Nipperdey would strike out* quod...procedebant: *Dietsch marks a lacuna between* consuli *and* procedebant

16 multa antecapere *PC* multo praeuenire antecapere *C* (*inferior*) multa *om. Kortte* (*Kritz Wirz*)

Dum haec Romae geruntur, C. Manlius ex suo
numero legatos ad Marcium Regem mittit cum
33 mandatis huiuscemodi. 'Deos hominesque testa-
mur, imperator, nos arma neque contra patriam
cepisse neque quo periculum aliis faceremus, sed
uti corpora nostra ab iniuria tuta forent, qui mi-
seri egentes violentia atque crudelitate feneratorum
plerique patriae sed omnes fama atque fortunis ex-
pertes sumus. neque cuiquam nostrum licuit more
maiorum lege uti neque amisso patrimonio liberum
corpus habere: tanta saevitia feneratorum atque
2 praetoris fuit. saepe maiores vostrum miseriti
plebis Romanae decretis suis inopiae eius opitu-
lati sunt, ac novissume memoria nostra propter
magnitudinem aeris alieni volentibus omnibus bonis
3 argentum aere solutum est. saepe ipsa plebes aut
dominandi studio permota aut superbia magistra-
4 tuum armata a patribus secessit. at nos non im-
perium neque divitias petimus, quarum rerum causa
bella atque certamina omnia inter mortalis sunt,
sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima
5 simul amittit. te atque senatum obtestamur, con-
sulatis miseris civibus, legis praesidium, quod ini-
quitas praetoris eripuit, restituatis neve nobis eam
necessitudinem inponatis, ut quaeramus, quonam
modo maxume ulti sanguinem nostrum pereamus'.

8 patriae *PC* patria *CV*. *For* patriae sed *Eussner conjectures* patriae sedis, *Weinhold* patria sede

9 nostrum cuiquam *V*

12 uestri *p*P^1*V* nostri *PC* | *Gellius is emphatic for* uestrum—*see notes* | miseriti *PCV Gellius* miserti *or* miserati *C*

ad haec Q. Marcius respondit, siquid ab senatu pe- **34**
tere vellent, ab armis discedant, Romam supplices
proficiscantur: ea mansuetudine atque misericordia
senatum populi Romani semper fuisse, ut nemo
umquam ab eo frustra auxilium petiverit.

At Catilina ex itinere plerisque consularibus, 2
praeterea optumo cuique litteras mittit, se falsis
criminibus circumventum, quoniam factioni inimi-
corum resistere nequiverit, fortunae cedere, Massi-
liam in exilium proficisci, non quo sibi tanti sceleris
conscius esset, sed uti res publica quieta foret
neve ex sua contentione seditio oreretur. ab his 3
longe divorsas litteras Q. Catulus in senatu reci-
tavit, quas sibi nomine Catilinae redditas dicebat.
earum exemplum infra scriptum est. | 'L. Catilina **35**
Q. Catulo. egregia tua fides re cognita, grata mihi
magnis in meis periculis, fiduciam commendationi
meae tribuit. quam ob rem defensionem in novo 2
consilio non statui parare, satisfactionem ex nulla
conscientia de culpa proponere decrevi, quam me-
diusfidius veram licet cognoscas. iniuriis contume- 3
liisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriaeque
meae privatus statum dignitatis non optinebam,
publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine

1 respondet z (*Dietsch*)

12 oreretur *P* oriretur *C*

15 l. catilina salutem dicit q. catulo *VP* (*but in P* salutem dicit *is written over the line*) salutem dicit *is omitted by some C, others have* suo *instead*

16 grata mihi *om. Schenkl.* gratam (*omitting* mihi) *Kortte*

17 in magnis meis *V*

suscepi, non quin aes alienum meis nominibus ex
possessionibus solvere possem,—et alienis nominibus
liberalitas Orestillae suis filiaeque copiis persolveret,
—sed quod non dignos homines honore honestatos
videbam meque falsa suspicione alienatum esse sen-
4 tiebam. hoc nomine satis honestas pro meo casu
spes reliquae dignitatis conservandae sum secutus.
5 plura cum scribere vellem, nuntiatum est vim mihi
6 parari. nunc Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei
trado. eam ab iniuria defendas per liberos tuos
rogatus. haveto'.

36 Sed ipse paucos dies commoratus apud C. Fla-
minium in agro Arretino, dum vicinitatem antea
sollicitatam armis exornat, cum fascibus atque aliis
imperi insignibus in castra ad Manlium contendit.
2 haec ubi Romae comperta sunt, senatus Catilinam
et Manlium hostis iudicat, ceterae multitudini
diem statuit, ante quam sine fraude liceret ab ar-
mis discedere praeter rerum capitalium condemna-
3 tis. praeterea decernit uti consules dilectum ha-

1 non quin *PCV* non quia *C* (*Dietsch with* non *before* possem *retained*) non qui...non *Schmalz*

2 soluere non possem et *PCV* s. n. p. cum et *or* sed *C* non *added by later hand* P^1. *Jordan has in his text the conjectural reading* solvere possem, at...persolveret: (*see notes*) solvere non possem, et *Nipperdey Wirz* nam et *Schmalz* cum vel *Linker* cum scilicet *Dietsch* et...persolvet *Eussner* et persolvebat *Klimscha*

9 orestillam tibi commendo *V*

12 flaminium flammam *z* (*one, cod. Monacensis*) *C* (*one*). *Dietsch brackets it in his text*

13 arretino P^1 reatinio *P* reatino *C*

beant, Antonius cum exercitu Catilinam persequi maturet, Cicero urbi praesidio sit.

Ea tempestate mihi imperium populi Romani 4
multo maxume miserabile visum est. cui cum ad occasum ab ortu solis omnia domita armis parerent, domi otium atque divitiae, quae prima mortales putant, adfluerent, fuere tamen cives qui seque remque publicam opstinatis animis perditum irent. namque duobus senati decretis ex tanta 5
multitudine neque praemio inductus coniurationem patefecerat neque ex castris Catilinae quisquam omnium discesserat: tanta vis morbi ac veluti tabes plerosque civium animos invaserat. neque 37
solum illis aliena mens erat, qui conscii coniurationis fuerant, sed omnino cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio Catilinae incepta probabat. id adeo more suo videbatur facere. nam semper 2 3
in civitate quibus opes nullae sunt bonis invident, malos extollunt, vetera odere, nova exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student, turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur, quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. sed urbana plebes ea 4
vero praeceps erat de multis causis. primum om- 5
nium, qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxume praestabant, item alii qui per dedecora patrimoniis

9 senati *PP¹C* (*one*) *Charisius* (*quoting for that form*)

12 ac veluti *Haupt* atque uti *PC* (*Nipperdey*) morbi erat, quae uti tabes *Bursian?* (*Dietsch*)

15 plebes *PC* plebs *C*

25 qui *PC* (*in P¹ over the line*) *om. a few Cz* (*so most editors*)

amissis, postremo omnes, quos flagitium aut faci-
nus domo expulerat, ei Romam sicut in sentinam
6 confluxerant. deinde multi memores Sullanae vic-
toriae, quod ex gregariis militibus alios senatores
videbant, alios ita divites ut regio victu atque
cultu aetatem agerent, sibi quisque, si in armis
7 foret, ex victoria talia sperabat. praeterea iuven-
tus, quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam tole-
raverat, privatis atque publicis largitionibus excita
urbanum otium ingrato labori praetulerat. eos
8 atque alios omnis malum publicum alebat. quo
minus mirandum est homines egentis, malis mori-
bus maxuma spe, rei publicae iuxta ac sibi con-
9 suluisse. praeterea quorum victoria Sullae parentes
proscripti, bona erepta, ius libertatis inminutum
erat, haud sane alio animo belli eventum expecta-
10 bant. ad hoc quicumque aliarum atque senatus
partium erant, conturbari rem publicam quam mi-
11 nus valere ipsi malebant. id adeo malum multos
38 post annos in civitatem revorterat. nam postquam
Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus tribunicia
potestas restituta est, homines adulescentes sum-
mam potestatem nacti, quibus aetas animusque
ferox erat, coepere senatum criminando plebem
exagitare, dein largiundo atque pollicitando magis
2 incendere, ita ipsi clari potentesque fieri. contra
eos summa ope nitebatur pleraque nobilitas senatus
3 specie pro sua magnitudine. namque uti paucis
verum absolvam, post illa tempora quicumque rem

3 *Nipperdey proposed to transpose* §§ 6 and 7
29 per illa *z* post Sullae *Dietsch*

publicam agitavere honestis nominibus, alii sicuti
populi iura defenderent, pars quo senatus auctoritas
maxuma foret, bonum publicum simulantes pro sua
quisque potentia certabant. neque illis modestia 4
neque modus contentionis erat: utrique victoriam
crudeliter exercebant. sed postquam Cn. Pompeius **39**
ad bellum maritumum atque Mithridaticum missus
est, plebis opes inminutae, paucorum potentia cre-
vit. ei magistratus provincias aliaque omnia te- 2
nere, ipsi innoxii florentes sine metu aetatem agere
ceterosque iudiciis terrere, quo plebem in magi-
stratu placidius tractarent. sed ubi primum dubiis 3
rebus novandi spes oblata est, vetus certamen ani-
mos eorum adrexit. quodsi primo proelio Catilina 4
superior aut aequa manu discessisset, profecto
magna clades atque calamitas rem publicam ob-
pressisset, neque illis, qui victoriam adepti forent,
diutius ea uti licuisset, quin defessis et exanguibus
qui plus posset imperium atque libertatem extor-
queret. fuere tamen extra coniurationem com- 5
plures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt. in
eis erat Fulvius senatoris filius, quem retractum ex
itinere parens necari iussit.

Isdem temporibus Romae Lentulus, sicuti Cati- 6

4 illis *was struck out by Gruter* (*Kortte*) neque illis modestia neque modus his *Eussner*

11 ceterosque *PC* que *om.* P^1C (*so most editors*) | qui *Kritz* ceteros, qui plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent, iudiciis terrere *Ritschl*

12 tractabant *is corrected to* tractarent *in P*

17 si *for* qui *Dietsch*

22 fuluius *PCz* fului *or* a. fului *z*. *Dietsch puts* A *in brackets*.

lina praeceperat, quoscumque moribus aut fortuna
novis rebus idoneos credebat, aut per se aut per
alios sollicitabat, neque solum civis, sed cuiusque
modi genus hominum, quod modo bello usui foret.
40 igitur P. Umbreno cuidam negotium dat, uti lega-
tos Allobrogum requirat eosque, si possit, inpellat
ad societatem belli, existumans publice privatimque
aere alieno obpressos, praeterea, quod natura gens
Gallica bellicosa esset, facile eos ad tale consilium
2 adduci posse. Umbrenus, quod in Gallia negoti-
atus erat, plerisque principibus civitatium notus
erat atque eos noverat. itaque sine mora, ubi pri-
mum legatos in foro conspexit, percontatus pauca
de statu civitatis et quasi dolens eius casum, requi-
rere coepit, quem exitum tantis malis sperarent.
3 postquam illos videt queri de avaritia magistra-
tuum, accusare senatum quod in eo auxili nihil
esset, miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare,
'at ego' inquit 'vobis, si modo viri esse voltis,
rationem ostendam, qua tanta ista mala effugiatis'.
4 haec ubi dixit Allobroges in maxumam spem
adducti Umbrenum orare ut sui misereretur: nihil
tam asperum neque tam difficile esse, quod non
cupidissume facturi essent, dum ea res civitatem
5 aere alieno liberaret. ille eos in domum D. Bruti
perducit, quod foro propinqua erat neque aliena
consili propter Semproniam. nam tum Brutus ab
6 Roma aberat. praeterea Gabinium arcessit, quo

2 ipse *for* per se *Dietsch*

11 ciuitatium *PC* ciuitatum *C*

27 ab roma *C Priscianus* ('inueniuntur tamen et
cum praepositionibus nomina ciuitatum saepe prolata et

maior auctoritas sermoni inesset. eo praesente
coniurationem aperit, nominat socios, praeterea
multos cuiusque generis, innoxios, quo legatis ani-
mus amplior esset. deinde eos pollicitos operam
suam domum dimittit. sed Allobroges diu in in- **41**
certo habuere quidnam consili caperent. in altera 2
parte erat aes alienum studium belli magna merces
in spe victoriae, at in altera maiores opes tuta con-
silia pro incerta spe certa praemia. haec illis vol- 3
ventibus tandem vicit fortuna rei publicae. itaque 4
Q. Fabio Sangae, cuius patrocinio civitas plurumum
utebatur, rem omnem uti cognoverant aperiunt.
Cicero per Sangam consilio cognito legatis prae- 5
cepit ut studium coniurationis vehementer simu-
lent, ceteros adeant, bene polliceantur, dentque
operam uti eos quam maxume manifestos habeant.

Isdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore at- **42**
que ulteriore, item in agro Piceno Bruttio Apulia
motus erat. namque illi, quos ante Catilina di- 2
miserat, inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam cuncta
simul agebant. nocturnis consiliis, armorum at-
que telorum portationibus, festinando agitando
omnia plus timoris quam periculi effecerant. ex 3
eo numero conpluris Q. Metellus Celer praetor
ex senatus consulto causa cognita in vincula
coniecerat, item in citeriore Gallia C. Murena, qui
ei provinciae legatus praeerat.

maxime apud historicos', *and he gives this passage—so other grammarians*) romae *P* roma *P*[1] (*with* ab *written over the line*)

13 praecipit *Linker* (*Dietsch*)

16 manifestos *P but in* 52. 36 manufestos *PV*

17 citeriore *PC* ulteriore *Kortte* (*Dietsch*)

43 At Romae Lentulus cum ceteris, qui principes coniurationis erant, paratis ut videbantur magnis copiis, constituerant uti, cum Catilina in agrum Faesulanum cum exercitu venisset, L. Bestia tribunus plebis contione habita quereretur de actionibus Ciceronis bellique gravissumi invidiam optumo consuli inponeret. eo signo proxuma nocte cetera multitudo coniurationis suum quisque negotium
2 exequeretur. sed ea divisa hoc modo dicebantur: Statilius et Gabinius uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent, quo tumultu facilior aditus ad consulem ceterosque quibus insidiae parabantur fieret; Cethegus Ciceronis ianuam obsideret eumque vi aggrederetur, alius autem alium, sed filii familiarum, quorum ex nobilitate maxuma pars erat, parentis interficerent, simul caede et incendio perculsis omnibus ad
3 Catilinam erumperent. inter haec parata atque decreta Cethegus semper querebatur de ignavia sociorum: illos dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates conrumpere, facto non consulto in tali periculo opus esse seque, si pauci adiuvarent, languentibus aliis impetum in curiam facturum.
4 natura ferox vehemens manu promptus erat, maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.

2 uidebantur *C* (*one*) *z* uidebatur *PC*

3 constituerant *PC* constituerat *C*

4 Aesulanum (Aefulanum?) *Rauchenstein* Carsulanum *or* Trossulanam *Dietsch* suburbanum *Wirz* (*but both D. and Wirz in their texts merely dagger* Faesulanum)

8 quisque *Cz* quaeque *PC*

20 in dies prolatando *Eussner*

21 consulto *C* consultando *PC*

Sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Ga- 44
binium ceteros conveniunt. ab Lentulo Cethego
Statilio item Cassio postulant ius iurandum, quod
signatum ad civis perferant: aliter haud facile eos
ad tantum negotium inpelli posse. ceteri nihil 2
suspicantes dant, Cassius semet eo brevi venturum
pollicetur ac paulo ante legatos ex urbe proficisci-
tur. Lentulus cum eis T. Volturcium quendam 3
Crotoniensem mittit, ut Allobroges prius quam
domum pergerent, cum Catilina data atque accepta
fide societatem confirmarent. ipse Volturcio litte- 4
ras ad Catilinam dat, quarum exemplum infra
scriptum est. 'Quis sim ex eo quem ad te misi 5
cognosces. fac cogites in quanta calamitate sis,
et memineris te virum esse. consideres quid tuae
rationes postulent. auxilium petas ab omnibus,
etiam ab infimis'. ad hoc mandata verbis dat: 6
cum ab senatu hostis iudicatus sit, quo consilio
servitia repudiet? in urbe parata esse quae iusserit.
ne cunctetur ipse propius adcedere. his rebus ita 45
actis, constituta nocte qua proficiscerentur, Cicero
per legatos cuncta edoctus L. Valerio Flacco et
C. Pomptino praetoribus imperat ut in ponte
Mulvio per insidias Allobrogum comitatus depre-
hendant. rem omnem aperit, cuius gratia mitte-
bantur, cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant per-
mittit. illi, homines militares, sine tumultu 2
praesidiis conlocatis, sicuti praeceptum erat, oc-
culte pontem obsidunt. postquam ad id loci legati 3

13 quis *C* qui *PCV* (*Meusel Schmalz Scheindler*)
27 illi *with* s *erased P* illi P^1 illis *C*

cum Volturcio venerunt et simul utrimque clamor
exortus est, Galli cito cognito consilio sine mora
4 praetoribus se tradunt, Volturcius primo cohortatus
ceteros gladio se a multitudine defendit, deinde ubi
a legatis desertus est, multa prius de salute sua
Pomptinum obtestatus, quod ei notus erat, postremo
timidus ac vitae diffidens velut hostibus sese prae-
toribus dedit.

46 Quibus rebus confectis omnia propere per
2 nuntios consuli declarantur. at illum ingens cura
atque laetitia simul occupavere. nam laetabatur
intellegens coniuratione patefacta civitatem peri-
culis ereptam esse, porro autem anxius erat, dubi-
tans in maxumo scelere tantis civibus deprehensis
quid facto opus esset: poenam illorum sibi oneri,
impunitatem perdundae rei publicae fore credebat.
3 igitur confirmato animo vocari ad sese iubet Len-
tulum Cethegum Statilium Gabinium itemque Cae-
parium Terracinensem, qui in Apuliam ad conci-
4 tanda servitia proficisci parabat. ceteri sine mora
veniunt, Caeparius paulo ante domo egressus cognito
5 indicio ex urbe profugerat. consul Lentulum, quod
praetor erat, ipse manu tenens [in senatum] per-
ducit, reliquos cum custodibus in aedem Concordiae
6 venire iubet. eo senatum advocat magnaque fre-
quentia eius ordinis Volturcium cum legatis intro-
ducit, Flaccum praetorem scrinium cum litteris,

15 esset *C* sit *C* (*inferior*) erat *P*

18 quendam *before in P*[1] (*Dietsch*), *or after* caeparium *C om. PC*

19 terracinensem *PC* tarracinensem *C* (*so most editors*)

23 in senatum *om. Kortte* (*Dietsch Wirz Schmalz*)

quas a legatis acceperat, eodem adferre iubet. Vol- 47
turcius interrogatus de itinere, de litteris, postremo
quid aut qua de causa consili habuisset, primo
fingere alia, dissimulare de coniuratione; post ubi
fide publica dicere iussus est, omnia uti gesta erant
aperit docetque se paucis ante diebus a Gabinio et
Caepario socium adscitum nihil amplius scire quam
legatos, tantum modo audire solitum ex Gabinio
P. Autronium Ser. Sullam L. Varguntium, multos
praeterea in ea coniuratione esse. eadem Galli 2
fatentur ac Lentulum dissimulantem coarguunt
praeter litteras sermonibus, quos ille habere solitus
erat, ex libris Sibyllinis regnum Romae tribus
Corneliis portendi; Cinnam atque Sullam antea, se
tertium esse, cui fatum foret urbis potiri. praeterea
ab incenso Capitolio illum esse vigesumum annum,
quem saepe ex prodigiis haruspices respondissent
bello civili cruentum fore. igitur perlectis litteris, 3
cum prius omnes signa sua cognovissent, senatus
decernit uti abdicato magistratu Lentulus itemque
ceteri in liberis custodiis habeantur. itaque Len- 4
tulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat,
Cethegus Q. Cornificio Statilius C. Caesari Gabinius
M. Crasso Caeparius—nam is paulo ante ex fuga
retractus erat—Cn. Terentio senatori traduntur.

Interea plebs coniuratione patefacta, quae primo 48
cupida rerum novarum nimis bello favebat, mutata
mente Catilinae consilia execrari, Ciceronem ad
caelum tollere: veluti ex servitute erepta gaudium
atque laetitiam agitabat. namque alia belli faci- 2

7 *Kvíčala would strike out* nihil...legatos

nora praedae magis quam detrimento fore, incendium vero crudele inmoderatum ac sibi maxume calamitosum putabat, quippe cui omnes copiae in usu cotidiano et cultu corporis erant.

3 Post eum diem quidam L. Tarquinius ad senatum adductus erat, quem ad Catilinam proficiscen-
4 tem ex itinere retractum aiebant. is cum se diceret indicaturum de coniuratione, si fides publica data esset, iussus a consule quae sciret edicere, eadem fere quae Volturcius de paratis incendiis de caede bonorum de itinere hostium senatum docet; praeterea se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinae nuntiaret ne eum Lentulus et Cethegus aliique ex coniuratione deprehensi terrerent, eoque magis properaret ad urbem adcedere, quo et ceterorum animos reficeret et illi facilius e periculo eripere-
5 tur. sed ubi Tarquinius Crassum nominavit, hominem nobilem, maxumis divitiis summa potentia, alii rem incredibilem rati, pars tametsi verum existumabant, tamen quia in tali tempore tanta vis hominis magis leniunda quam exagitanda videbatur, plerique Crasso ex negotiis privatis obnoxii conclamant indicem falsum esse deque ea re postu-
6 lant uti referatur. itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit, Tarquini indicium falsum videri eumque in vinculis retinendum neque amplius potestatem faciundam, nisi de eo indicaret,
7 cuius consilio tantam rem esset mentitus. erant eo tempore qui existumarent indicium illud a P. Autronio machinatum, quo facilius appellato Crasso per societatem periculi reliquos illius po-
8 tentia tegeret. alii Tarquinium a Cicerone in-

missum aiebant, ne Crassus more suo suscepto
malorum patrocinio rem publicam conturbaret.
ipsum Crassum ego postea praedicantem audivi, 9
tantam illam contumeliam sibi ab Cicerone in-
positam.

Sed isdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso 49
neque pretio neque gratia Ciceronem inpellere
potuere, uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem
C. Caesar falso nominaretur. nam uterque cum 2
illo gravis inimicitias exercebant: Piso oppugnatus
in iudicio pecuniarum repetundarum propter cuius-
dam transpadani supplicium iniustum, Catulus ex
petitione pontificatus odio incensus, quod extrema
aetate, maxumis honoribus usus, ab adulescentulo
Caesare victus discesserat. res autem opportuna 3
videbatur, quod is privatim egregia liberalitate,
publice maxumis muneribus grandem pecuniam
debebat. sed ubi consulem ad tantum facinus in- 4
pellere nequeunt, ipsi singillatim circumeundo at-
que ementiundo quae se ex Volturcio aut Allo-
brogibus audisse dicerent, magnam illi invidiam
conflaverant, usque eo ut non nulli equites Romani,
qui praesidi causa cum telis erant circum aedem
Concordiae, seu periculi magnitudine seu animi

7 neque pretio neque gratia *Priscianus Septimius* (*see notes*) neque precibus neque gratia neque pretio *PC* (*Kortte Kritz Kvícala Scheindler*) neque gratia neque precibus neque pretio *z*

8 potuere *P* impelli quiuit *Priscian* inlici quiuit *Septimius*—impellere quivere *Putsche* (*Dietsch Wirz*)

10 exercebant *PC* exercebat *pC*

19 singillatim *P* singulatim *P* (*so in J.* 42. 5)

22 eo *PC* adeo *C*

mobilitate inpulsi, quo studium suum in rem publicam clarius esset, egredienti ex senatu Caesari gladio minitarentur.

50 Dum haec in senatu aguntur et dum legatis Allobrogum et T. Volturcio, conprobato eorum indicio, praemia decernuntur, liberti et pauci ex clientibus Lentuli divorsis itineribus opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiundum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio
2 rem publicam vexare soliti erant. Cethegus autem per nuntios familiam atque libertos suos lectos et exercitatos orabat [in audaciam] ut grege facto cum
3 telis ad sese inrumperent. consul ubi ea parari cognovit, dispositis praesidiis, ut res atque tempus monebat, convocato senatu refert quid de eis fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant. sed eos paulo ante frequens senatus iudicaverat contra rem
4 publicam fecisse. tum D. Iunius Silanus primus sententiam rogatus, quod eo tempore consul designatus erat, de eis qui in custodiis tenebantur et praeterea de L. Cassio P. Furio P. Umbreno Q. Annio, si deprehensi forent, supplicium sumundum decreverat isque postea permotus oratione C. Caesaris pedibus in sententiam Ti. Neronis iturum se dixerat, quod de ea re praesidiis additis referundum

12 orabat in audaciam *PC* in audaciam orabat *z* in audaciam *om. z* (*one*)—orabat in auxilium *W. Wagner* vocabat in audaciam *Scheindler*

20 et *om. Wirz* (*cp.* 25. 2)

25 quod de *PC* qui de P^1C (*Wirz Dietsch*) *one MS has* quid | abditis PP^1 (*over* remotis)—*acc. to Dietsch and Wirz, and* additis *appears only in one C, where acc. to*

censuerat. sed Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum est, 5
rogatus sententiam a consule huiuscemodi verba
locutus est.

'Omnis homines, patres conscripti, qui de rebus 51
dubiis consultant, ab odio amicitia ira atque miseri-
cordia vacuos esse decet. haud facile animus verum 2
providet, ubi illa officiunt, neque quisquam omnium
lubidini simul et usui paruit. ubi intenderis inge- 3
nium, valet: si lubido possidet, ea dominatur, animus
nihil valet. magna mihi copia est memorandi, patres 4
conscripti, qui reges atque populi ira aut miseri-
cordia inpulsi male consuluerint. sed ea malo
dicere, quae maiores nostri contra lubidinem animi
sui recte atque ordine fecere. bello Macedonico, 5
quod cum rege Perse gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas
magna atque magnifica, quae populi Romani opibus
creverat, infida atque advorsa nobis fuit. sed post-
quam bello confecto de Rhodiis consultum est,
maiores nostri, nequis divitiarum magis quam in-
iuriae causa bellum inceptum diceret, inpunitos eos
dimisere. item bellis Punicis omnibus, cum saepe 6
Carthaginienses et in pace et per indutias multa
nefaria facinora fecissent, numquam ipsi per occa-
sionem talia fecere: magis quid se dignum foret

Dietsch it is written over the line—additis *Dietsch* abductis *Wirz* (*Schmalz*)

7 *Jordan has* providet:—*a misprint?*

11 qui *PC* quae *p in margin* P^1CV *Arusianus:* consulo illam rem...et Sal. cat. quae...consuluerunt v. l. -int (*Dietsch Wirz*)

12 consuluerint *PC* consulerunt *V*

17 atque *PC* et *p* (*in margin*) *CV* (*Dietsch Schmalz*)

quam quid in illos iure fieri posset quaerebant.
7 hoc item vobis providendum est, patres conscripti,
ne plus apud vos valeat P. Lentuli et ceterorum
scelus quam vostra dignitas, neu magis irae vostrae
8 quam famae consulatis. nam si digna poena pro
factis eorum reperitur, novom consilium adprobo:
sin magnitudo sceleris omnium ingenia exuperat,
eis utendum censeo quae legibus conparata sunt.
9 plerique eorum, qui ante me sententias dixerunt,
composite atque magnifice casum rei publicae miserati sunt. quae belli saevitia esset, quae victis
acciderent, enumeravere; rapi virgines, divelli
liberos a parentum complexu, matres familiarum
pati quae victoribus conlubuisset, fana atque domos
spoliari, caedem incendia fieri, postremo armis cada-
10 veribus cruore atque luctu omnia compleri. sed,
per deos inmortalis, quo illa oratio pertinuit? an uti
vos infestos coniurationi faceret? scilicet quem res
tanta et tam atrox non permovit, eum oratio ac-
11 cendet. non ita est, neque cuiquam mortalium in-
iuriae suae parvae videntur: multi eas gravius
12 aequo habuere. sed alia aliis licentia est, patres
conscripti. qui demissi in obscuro vitam habent,
siquid iracundia deliquere, pauci sciunt, fama atque

4 neu *PC* neue *CV*

8 his utendum *CV* his *om. P*

9 sententiam *V*

14 conlibuisset *z* (*Wirz*) conlibuissent *PCV* (*Dietsch Schmalz*)

15 ruinis *for* armis *Wecklein*

19 permouit *PC* permouet *p* (*in margin*) *V* | accendet *PC* accendit *p* (*in margin*) *CV*

23 habent *PC* agunt *p* (in margin) *CV*

fortuna eorum pares sunt: qui magno imperio prae-
diti in excelso aetatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti
mortales novere. ita in maxuma fortuna minuma 13
licentia est. neque studere neque odisse, sed minume
irasci decet. quae apud alios iracundia dicitur, ea 14
in imperio superbia atque crudelitas appellatur.
equidem ego sic existumo, patres conscripti, omnis 15
cruciatus minores quam facinora illorum esse. sed
plerique mortales postrema meminere, et in homini-
bus inpiis sceleris eorum obliti de poena disserunt,
si ea paulo saevior fuit. D. Silanum virum fortem 16
atque strenuum certo scio quae dixerit studio rei
publicae dixisse neque illum in tanta re gratiam aut
inimicitias exercere: eos mores eamque modestiam
viri cognovi. verum sententia eius mihi non cru- 17
delis—quid enim in talis homines crudele fieri
potest?—sed aliena a re publica nostra videtur.
nam profecto aut metus aut iniuria te subegit, 18
Silane, consulem designatum genus poenae novom
decernere. de timore supervacuaneum est disserere, 19
cum praesertim diligentia clarissumi viri consulis
tanta praesidia sint in armis. de poena possum 20
equidem dicere id quod res habet, in luctu atque
miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem non crucia-
tum esse, eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere,
ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse. sed, 21
per deos inmortalis, quam ob rem in sententiam

1 eorum *om. Kortte*
11 seuior *PC* seuerior P^1CV—*so most editors*
20 superuacuaneum *PCV* superuacaneum *p* (*in margin*)
22 in armis sint *V*
27 sententiam *PC* sententia P^1CV

non addidisti, uti prius verberibus in eos animad-
22 vorteretur? | an quia lex Porcia vetat? at aliae leges
item condemnatis civibus non animam eripi sed
23 exilium permitti iubent. an quia gravius est verbe-
rari quam necari? quid autem acerbum aut nimis
24 grave est in homines tanti facinoris convictos? sin
quia levius est, qui convenit in minore negotio
25 legem timere, cum eam in maiore neglegeris? at
enim quis reprehendet, quod in parricidas rei pub-
licae decretum erit? tempus dies fortuna, cuius lu-
bido gentibus moderatur. illis merito accidet quid-
26 quid evenerit. ceterum vos, patres conscripti, quid
27 in alios statuatis considerate. omnia mala exempla
ex rebus bonis orta sunt. sed ubi imperium ad
ignaros [eius] aut minus bonos pervenit, novom
illud exemplum ab dignis et idoneis ad indignos
28 et non idoneos transfertur. Lacedaemonii devictis
Atheniensibus triginta viros inposuere, qui rem
29 publicam eorum tractarent. ei primo coepere pes-
sumum quemque et omnibus invisum indemnatum
necare. ea populus laetari et merito dicere fieri.
30 post ubi paulatim licentia crevit, iuxta bonos et
malos lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere:
31 ita civitas servitute obpressa stultae laetitiae gravis

1 in eos uerberibus *V*

3 item de condemnatis *V*

8 neglegeris *PC* (*only one perhaps*) neglexeris *CV*

14 bonis *PCV* domesticis *C* (*inferior: a conjecture suggested by* § 37?) ex bonis *Schöll* (*Wirz Schmalz*) ex re bonis *Klimscha*

15 ignaros eius *CV the* eius *has been erased in P and in some C* ignauos *C* (*one*) ciues *C* (*one*) | bonum *for* novom *Gründel*

poenas dedit. nostra memoria victor Sulla cum 32
Damasippum et alios eiusmodi, qui malo rei publicae
creverant, iugulari iussit, quis non factum eius
laudabat? homines scelestos et factiosos, qui sedi-
tionibus rem publicam exagitaverant, merito necatos
aiebant. sed ea res magnae initium cladis fuit. 33
nam uti quisque domum aut villam, postremo vas aut
vestimentum alicuius concupiverat, dabat operam
ut is in proscriptorum numero esset. ita illi, quibus 34
Damasippi mors laetitiae fuerat, paulo post ipsi tra-
hebantur, neque prius finis iugulandi fuit quam
Sulla omnis suos divitiis explevit. (atque ego haec 35
non in M. Tullio neque his temporibus vereor, sed
in magna civitate multa et varia ingenia sunt.)
potest alio tempore alio consule, cui item exercitus 36
in manu sit, falsum aliquid pro vero credi: ubi hoc
exemplo per senatus decretum consul gladium
eduxerit, quis illi finem statuet aut quis modera-
bitur? maiores nostri, patres conscripti, neque 37
consili neque audaciae umquam eguere, neque illis
superbia obstabat quo minus aliena instituta, si
modo proba erant, imitarentur. arma atque tela 38
militaria ab Samnitibus, insignia magistratuum ab
Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt. postremo quod ubique
apud socios aut hostis idoneum videbatur, cum
summo studio domi exequebantur, imitari quam
invidere bonis malebant. sed eodem illo tempore 39

6 initium magnae cladis *V*
10 fuit *V*
12 atque haec ego *V*
22 arma tela atque militaria *C* (*two*)

Graeciae morem imitati verberibus animadvortebant
in civis, de condemnatis summum supplicium sume-
40 bant. postquam res publica adolevit et multitu-
dine civium factiones valuere, circumveniri inno-
centes, alia huiuscemodi fieri coepere, tum lex
Porcia aliaeque leges paratae sunt, quibus legibus
41 exilium damnatis permissum est. hanc ego causam,
patres conscripti, quo minus novom consilium capia-
42 mus in primis magnam puto. profecto virtus atque
sapientia maior illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tan-
tum imperium fecere quam in nobis, qui ea bene
43 parta vix retinemus. placet igitur eos dimitti et
augeri exercitum Catilinae? minume. sed ita censeo,
publicandas eorum pecunias, ipsos in vinculis ha-
bendos per municipia, quae maxume opibus valent,
neu quis de eis postea ad senatum referat neve cum
populo agat: qui aliter fecerit, senatum existumare
eum contra rem publicam et salutem omnium
facturum'.

52 Postquam Caesar dicundi finem fecit, ceteri
verbo alius alii varie adsentiebantur. at M. Por-
cius Cato rogatus sententiam huiuscemodi oratio-
nem habuit.

2 'Longe mihi alia mens est, patres conscripti,
cum res atque pericula nostra considero et cum sen-
tentias non nullorum ipse mecum reputo. illi mihi

1 Graeciae morem imitati *Döderlein would place after* coepere tum § 40 *Dietsch brackets the words*

4 circumueniri *V* circumuenire *PC*

10 illis *PCV* in illis P^1 (*Wirz Dietsch*)

16 neu quis *PC* ne quis *pCV*

24 mihi alia *PC* alia mihi *V*

disseruisse videntur de poena eorum, qui patriae
parentibus aris atque focis suis bellum paravere.
res autem monet cavere ab illis magis quam quid
in illos statuamus consultare. nam cetera malificia 4
tum persequare, ubi facta sunt, hoc nisi provideris
ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra iudicia inplores:
capta urbe nihil fit reliqui victis. sed, per deos 5
inmortalis, vos ego appello, qui semper domos villas
signa tabulas vostras pluris quam rem publicam
fecistis: si ista cuiuscumque modi sunt quae am-
plexamini retinere, si voluptatibus vostris otium
praebere voltis, expergiscimini aliquando et capes-
site rem publicam. non agitur de vectigalibus ne- 6
que de sociorum iniuriis: libertas et anima nostra
in dubio est. saepe numero, patres conscripti, 7
multa verba in hoc ordine feci, saepe de luxuria
atque avaritia nostrorum civium questus sum, mul-
tosque mortalis ea causa advorsos habeo: qui mihi 8
atque animo meo nullius umquam delicti gratiam
fecissem, haud facile alterius lubidini malefacta
condonabam. sed ea tametsi vos parvi pendebatis, 9
tamen res publica firma erat, opulentia neglegen-
tiam tolerabat. nunc vero non id agitur, bonisne 10
an malis moribus vivamus, neque quantum aut
quam magnificum imperium populi Romani sit, sed
haec cuiuscumque modi videntur, nostra an nobis-
cum una hostium futura sint. hic mihi quisquam 11
mansuetudinem et misericordiam nominat. iam

5 tunc *P*
8 uos ego *PCV* ego uos *C*
10 ista *PC* ita *CV*
28 nominat? *Wörner*

pridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus.
quia bona aliena largiri liberalitas, malarum rerum
audacia fortitudo vocatur, eo res publica in ex-
12 tremo sita est. sint sane, quoniam ita se mores
habent, liberales ex sociorum fortunis, sint miseri-
cordes in furibus aerari; ne illi sanguinem nostrum
largiantur et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos
13 omnis perditum eant. bene et composite C. Caesar
paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita et morte disseruit,
credo falsa existumans ea quae de inferis memoran-
tur, divorso itinere malos a bonis loca taetra in-
14 culta foeda atque formidulosa habere. itaque cen-
suit pecunias eorum publicandas, ipsos per munici-
pia in custodiis habendos, videlicet timens ne, si
Romae sint, aut a popularibus coniurationis aut a
15 multitudine conducta per vim eripiantur. quasi
vero mali atque scelesti tantum modo in urbe et
non per totam Italiam sint, aut non ibi plus possit
audacia, ubi ad defendundum opes minores sunt.
16 quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est, si pericu-
lum ex illis metuit: sin in tanto omnium metu
solus non timet, eo magis refert me mihi atque
17 vobis timere. quare cum de P. Lentulo ceterisque
statuetis, pro certo habetote vos simul de exercitu
18 Catilinae et de omnibus coniuratis decernere. quan-
to vos attentius ea agetis, tanto illis animus infir-
mior erit: si paululum modo vos languere viderint,

4 sita est *CV* positaē *P*
7 sceleratis *PC* scelestis *p* (*in margin*) *V*
21 sin *C* (?) si *PCV*
26 attentius *PC* intentius *p* (*in margin*) *V Scheindler*
27 paululum *PC* paulum *CV* (*Vogel Wirz Schmalz*)

iam omnes feroces aderunt. nolite existumare, 19
maiores nostros armis rem publicam ex parva mag-
nam fecisse. si ita res esset, multo pulcherrumam 20
eam nos haberemus, quippe sociorum atque civium,
praeterea armorum atque equorum maior copia
nobis quam illis est. sed alia fuere quae illos mag- 21
nos fecere, quae nobis nulla sunt, domi industria
foris iustum imperium, animus in consulundo liber
neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius. pro his nos 22
habemus luxuriam atque avaritiam, publice egesta-
tem privatim opulentiam. laudamus divitias sequi-
mur inertiam. inter bonos et malos discrimen nul-
lum, omnia virtutis praemia ambitio possidet.
| neque mirum. ubi vos separatim sibi quisque con- 23
silium capitis, ubi domi voluptatibus, hic pecuniae
aut gratiae servitis, eo fit ut impetus fiat in vacuam
rem publicam. | sed ego haec omitto. coniuravere 24
nobilissumi cives patriam incendere, Gallorum gen-
tem infestissumam nomini Romano ad bellum ar-
cessunt. dux hostium cum exercitu supra caput
est. vos cunctamini etiam nunc et dubitatis, quid 25
intra moenia deprensis hostibus faciatis? misere- 26
amini censeo—deliquere homines adulescentuli per
ambitionem—atque etiam armatos dimittatis, ne ista 27
vobis mansuetudo et misericordia, si illi arma cepe-

3 res *PCV om. C (inferior) Augustine* res *added by second hand P*[1]

12 discrimen nullum *PCV Augustine* nullum discrimen (*or* d. n.) est *C*

21 et dubitas *Hertz proposed to strike out*

22 deprensis *PCV* deprehensis *or* adprehensis *C* | misereamini *PC* miseremini *CV*

28 rint, in miseriam convortat. scilicet res ipsa aspera
est, sed vos non timetis eam. immo vero maxume.
sed inertia et mollitia animi alius alium expectan-
tes cunctamini, videlicet dis inmortalibus confisi,
qui hanc rem publicam saepe in maxumis periculis
29 servavere. non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus
auxilia deorum parantur: vigilando agundo bene
consulundo prospera omnia cedunt. ubi socordiae
te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequiquam deos in-
30 plores: irati infestique sunt. apud maiores nostros
A. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico filium suum,
quod is contra imperium in hostem pugnaverat,
31 necari iussit, atque ille egregius adulescens inmode-
ratae fortitudinis morte poenas dedit. vos de cru-
delissumis parricidis quid statuatis cunctamini?
32 videlicet cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat.
33 verum parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae,
si famae suae, si dis aut hominibus umquam ullis
pepercit. ignoscite Cethegi adulescentiae, nisi
34 iterum patriae bellum fecit. nam quid ego de
Gabinio Statilio Caepario loquar? quibus si quic-
quam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de re
35 publica habuissent. postremo, patres conscripti, si
mehercule peccato locus esset, facile paterer vos
ipsa re corrigi, quoniam verba contemnitis. sed

6 neque *CV* atque *C* atque *is altered to* neque *P*
8 prospera omnia *P* prospere omnia *P*[1] *V Servius* (*Wirz*)
11 aulus *P* Ā *V* t *or* g *z*
17 uerum *C* uero *PCV*
18 aut *PC* atque *p* (*in margin*) *CV*
20 iterum *PCV* iterum iam *C*
21 statilio gabinio *V* (*Vogel*)

undique circumventi sumus. Catilina cum exercitu faucibus urget, alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes, neque parari neque consuli quicquam potest occulte: quo magis properandum est. quare 36 ego ita censeo: cum nefario consilio sceleratorum civium res publica in maxuma pericula venerit, eique indicio T. Volturci et legatorum Allobrogum convicti confessique sint caedem incendia aliaque se foeda atque crudelia facinora in civis patriamque paravisse, de confessis sicuti de manufestis rerum capitalium more maiorum supplicium sumundum'.

Postquam Cato adsedit, consulares omnes item- **53** que senatus magna pars sententiam eius laudant, virtutem animi ad caelum ferunt, alii alios increpantes timidos vocant, Cato clarus atque magnus habetur, senati decretum fit, sicuti ille censuerat.

Sed mihi multa legenti multa audienti, quae 2 populus Romanus domi militiaeque mari atque terra praeclara facinora fecit, forte lubuit adtendere, quae res maxume tanta negotia sustinuisset. sciebam saepe numero parva manu cum magnis le- 3 gionibus hostium contendisse. cognoveram parvis copiis bella gesta cum opulentis regibus, ad hoc saepe fortunae violentiam toleravisse, facundia

2 faucibus (*or* in faucibus) italiae urget *z* in faucibus Etruriae agit *Linker* | in sinu urbis *PC* urbis *om. V* (*Dietsch brackets*) in senatu *Linker* intra moenia atque *and* urbis *Hertz proposed to omit*

4 potest occulte *PC* occulte potest *CV*

5 ego ita *PCV* ita ego *C* ego *om. Selling*

16 senat• (i *erased*) *P Charisius and Priscianus quote for* senati

4 Graecos gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse. ac
mihi multa agitanti constabat paucorum civium
egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse eoque factum
uti divitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas supe-
5 raret. sed postquam luxu atque desidia civitas
conrupta est, rursus res publica magnitudine sua
imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat
ac, sicuti effeta parente, multis tempestatibus haud
6 sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit. sed
memoria mea ingenti virtute divorsis moribus fuere
viri duo M. Cato et C. Caesar: quos quoniam res
obtulerat, silentio praeterire non fuit consilium,
quin utriusque naturam et mores, quantum ingenio
54 possem, aperirem. igitur eis genus aetas eloquen-
tia prope aequalia fuere, magnitudo animi par, item
2 gloria, sed alia alii. Caesar benificiis ac munificen-
tia magnus habebatur, integritate vitae Cato. ille
mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus, huic
3 severitas dignitatem addiderat. Caesar dando sub-
levando ignoscundo, Cato nihil largiundo gloriam
adeptus est. in altero miseris perfugium erat, in
altero malis pernicies. illius facilitas, huius con-
4 stantia laudabatur. postremo Caesar in animum
induxerat laborare, vigilare, negotiis amicorum in-

2 multum *Eussner*

8 sicuti *PC* ueluti *C* (*a few*) | effeta parente *z* effeta parentum *PC*—effeta virtute parentum *Allen Klimscha* effeta aetate parentum *Dietsch* (1859) sicut vi effeta parentum *Weidemann* sicuti effeta vi parentum *Ritschl* sicuti esset effeta (sc. res publica) *Wirz* effoetae partuum (sc. Romae) *Bezzenberger*

9 virtute *om. Allen Klimscha*

14 possem *C* possum *PC*

tentus sua neglegere, nihil denegare quod dono
dignum esset, sibi magnum imperium exercitum bel-
lum novom exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset.
at Catoni studium modestiae decŏris, sed maxume 5
severitatis erat. non divitiis cum divite neque 6
factione cum factioso, sed cum strenuo virtute cum
modesto pudore cum innocente abstinentia certabat,
esse quam videri bonus malebat: ita quo minus
petebat gloriam, eo magis illum sequebatur.

Postquam, ut dixi, senatus in Catonis senten- **55**
tiam discessit, consul optumum factu ratus noctem
quae instabat antecapere, nequid eo spatio novare-
tur, triumviros quae [ad] supplicium postulabat
parare iubet, ipse praesidiis dispositis Lentulum in 2
carcerem deducit. idem fit ceteris per praetores.
est in carcere locus quod Tullianum appellatur, ubi 3
paululum ascenderis ad laevam, circiter duodecim
pedes humi depressus. eum muniunt undique pa- 4
rietes atque insuper camera lapideis fornicibus
iuncta, sed incultu tenebris odore foeda atque terri-
bilis eius facies est. in eum locum postquam demis- 5
sus est Lentulus, vindices rerum capitalium, quibus

9 eo illum magis sequebatur *Augustine* eo magis illum assequebatur *PC* illam *C* sequebatur *C* (*one*) eo magis illa sequebatur *z* (*one*) (*Dietsch*)—eo magis illum ea s. *Scheindler*

13 tresviros *Dietsch Wirz Schmalz* | ad *erased or written over the line in some C* postulabant *C* (*one*)

17 ascenderis *PC* descenderis *z* (*'rightly perhaps' Jordan*)

20 iuncta *PC* uincta *C* | incultu *PC* inculta *C*

22 uindices *C* et indices *PCz—Kortte struck out* uindices r. capitalium

6 praeceptum erat, laqueo gulam fregere. ita ille
patricius ex gente clarissuma Corneliorum, qui con-
sulare imperium Romae habuerat, dignum moribus
factisque suis exitium vitae invenit: de Cethego
Statilio Gabinio Caepario eodem modo supplicium
sumptum est.

56 Dum ea Romae geruntur, Catilina ex omni
copia, quam et ipse adduxerat et Manlius habuerat,
2 duas legiones instituit, | cohortis pro numero mili-
tum complet, deinde, ut quisque voluntarius aut ex
sociis in castra venerat, aequaliter distribuerat, ac
brevi spatio legiones numero hominum expleverat,
cum initio non amplius duobus milibus habuisset.
3 sed ex omni copia circiter pars quarta erat militari-
bus armis instructa, ceteri, ut quemque casus
armaverat, sparos aut lanceas, alii praeacutas sudis
4 portabant. sed postquam Antonius cum exercitu
adventabat, Catilina per montis iter facere, modo
ad urbem modo in Galliam versus castra movere,
hostibus occasionem pugnandi non dare: sperabat
propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae
5 socii incepta patravissent. interea servitia repudia-
bat, cuius initio ad eum magnae copiae concurre-
bant, opibus coniurationis fretus, simul alienum
suis rationibus existumans videri causam civium
57 cum servis fugitivis communicavisse. sed post-
quam in castra nuntius pervenit Romae coniuratio-

4 exitum *for* exitium *Vogel Wirz*

19 in galliam *Priscianus* in *om. PC* (*except the inferior which have* in *or* ad)

20 sperabat *PC* sperans *C*

nem patefactam, de Lentulo et Cethego ceterisque,
quos supra memoravi, supplicium sumptum, pleri-
que, quos ad bellum spes rapinarum aut novarum
rerum studium inlexerat, dilabuntur, reliquos Cati-
lina per montis asperos magnis itineribus in agrum
Pistoriensem abducit eo consilio, uti per tramites
occulte perfugeret in Galliam transalpinam. at 2
Q. Metellus Celer cum tribus legionibus in agro
Piceno praesidebat, ex difficultate rerum eadem
illa existumans, quae supra diximus Catilinam agi-
tare. igitur ubi iter eius ex perfugis cognovit, 3
castra propere movit ac sub ipsis radicibus mon-
tium consedit, qua illi descensus erat in Galliam
properanti. neque tamen Antonius procul aberat, 4
utpote qui magno exercitu locis aequioribus expedi-
tus [in fuga] sequeretur. sed Catilina postquam 5
videt montibus atque copiis hostium sese clausum,
in urbe res advorsas, neque fugae neque praesidi
ullam spem, optumum factu ratus in tali re fortu-
nam belli temptare, statuit cum Antonio quam pri-
mum confligere. itaque contione advocata huiusce- 6
modi orationem habuit.

'Compertum ego habeo, milites, verba virtutem **58**
non addere, neque ex ignavo strenuum neque for-
tem ex timido exercitum oratione imperatoris fieri.
quanta cuiusque animo audacia natura aut moribus 2
inest, tanta in bello patere solet. quem neque

7 *Dietsch brackets* Transalpinam

15 expeditus *z* expeditos *PC* in fugam *a few MSS* — expeditus inpeditos in fuga *Dietsch* (1859) expeditus tardatos in fuga *Ritschl* expedito in fuga *Wirz* impeditos in fuga *F. Uber*

gloria neque pericula excitant, nequiquam hortere:
3 timor animi auribus officit. sed ego vos, quo pauca
monerem, advocavi, simul uti causam mei consili
4 aperirem. scitis equidem, milites, socordia atque
ignavia Lentuli quantam ipsi nobisque cladem attu-
lerit quoque modo, dum ex urbe praesidia opperior,
5 in Galliam proficisci nequiverim. nunc vero quo
loco res nostrae sint, iuxta mecum omnes intellegi-
6 tis. exercitus hostium duo, unus ab urbe alter a
Gallia obstant. diutius in his locis esse, si maxume
animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas
7 prohibet. quocumque ire placet, ferro iter aperiun-
8 dum est. qua propter vos moneo uti forti atque
parato animo sitis et, cum proelium inibitis, memi-
neritis vos divitias decus gloriam, praeterea liberta-
9 tem atque patriam in dextris vostris portare. si
vincimus, omnia nobis tuta erunt, commeatus
abunde, municipia atque coloniae patebunt: si
10 metu cesserimus, eadem illa advorsa fient, neque
locus neque amicus quisquam teget quem arma non
11 texerint. praeterea, milites, non eadem nobis et
illis necessitudo impendet: nos pro patria pro liber-
tate pro vita certamus, illis supervacaneum est
12 pro potentia paucorum pugnare. quo audacius
13 adgrediamini memores pristinae virtutis. licuit

7 nequiueram *is corrected into* nequiuerim *P* | quo loco *PCV* quo in loco *C*

18 sin *Kritz* (*Wirz*)

19 *after* fient *z have* quia bello incepto pax in manu uictoris constat *and omit* neque locus

20 tegit *V* (*Scheindler*)

24 pugnare pro potentia paucorum *CV*

25 adgrediamini *PC* adgredimini *CV* (*Wirz*)

vobis cum summa turpitudine in exilio aetatem
agere, potuistis non nulli Romae amissis bonis
alienas opes expectare: quia illa foeda atque intole- 14
randa viris videbantur, haec sequi decrevistis. si 15
haec relinquere voltis, audacia opus est: nemo nisi
victor pace bellum mutavit. nam in fuga salutem 16
sperare, cum arma, quibus corpus tegitur, ab hosti-
bus averteris, ea vero dementia est. semper in 17
proelio eis maxumum est periculum, qui maxume
timent, audacia pro muro habetur. cum vos con- 18
sidero, milites, et cum facta vostra aestumo, magna
me spes victoriae tenet. animus aetas virtus vostra 19
me hortantur, praeterea necessitudo, quae etiam
timidos fortis facit. nam multitudo hostium ne 20
circumvenire queat, prohibent angustiae loci. quod- 21
si virtuti vostrae fortuna inviderit, cavete inulti
animam amittatis, neu capti potius sicuti pecora
trucidemini quam virorum more pugnantes cruen-
tam atque luctuosam victoriam hostibus relin-
quatis'.

Haec ubi dixit, paululum conmoratus signa **59**
canere iubet atque instructos ordines in locum
aequom deducit. dein remotis omnium equis, quo
militibus exaequato periculo animus amplior esset,
ipse pedes exercitum pro loco atque copiis instruit.
nam uti planities erat inter sinistros montis et ab 2
dextera rupe aspera, octo cohortis in fronte con-

1 uobis *pCV* nobis *PC*

16 uirtute *is corrected to* uirtuti *PV* | cauete inulti *PC* cauete ne inulti *CV*

27 dextera *PC* dextra *C* —rupes *Merivale* et dexteras rupes perangusta *Grunauer*

stituit, reliquarum signa in subsidio artius conlocat.
3 ab eis centuriones omnis, lectos et evocatos, prae-
terea ex gregariis militibus optumum quemque
armatum in primam aciem subducit. C. Manlium
in dextra, Faesulanum quendam in sinistra parte
curare iubet. ipse cum libertis et calonibus propter
aquilam adsistit, quam bello Cimbrico C. Marius in
4 exercitu habuisse dicebatur. at ex altera parte
C. Antonius pedibus aeger, quod proelio adesse
nequibat, M. Petreio legato exercitum permittit.
5 ille cohortis veteranas, quas tumultus causa con-
scripserat, in fronte, post eas ceterum exercitum in
subsidiis locat. ipse equo circumiens unum quemque
nominans appellat hortatur, rogat ut meminerint
se contra latrones inermis pro patria pro liberis pro
6 aris atque focis suis certare. homo militaris, quod
amplius annos triginta tribunus aut praefectus aut
legatus aut praetor cum magna gloria in exercitu
fuerat, plerosque ipsos factaque eorum fortia no-
verat: ea conmemorando militum animos accende-
bat.

60 Sed ubi omnibus rebus exploratis Petreius tuba
signum dat, cohortis paulatim incedere iubet. idem
2 facit hostium exercitus. postquam eo ventum est,

5 dextera *C* (*a few*)

6 calonibus *zC* (?) colonibus *PC* coloniis *C* — colonis *Klimscha*

7 adsistit *P* adstitit *p*

11 tumultus *PC* tumulti *Nonius, quoting expressly for that. The reading is said to have been in one C but erased* (*Dietsch Meusel*)

15 inermis *C* inhermos *P*

23 iubet, *Kritz Dietsch Wirz* iubet; *Fabri Schmalz*

unde a ferentariis proelium conmitti posset, maxu-
mo clamore cum infestis signis concurrunt: pila
omittunt, gladiis res geritur. veterani pristinae 3
virtutis memores comminus acriter instare, illi
haud timidi resistunt: maxuma vi certatur. in- 4
terea Catilina cum expeditis in prima acie vorsari,
laborantibus succurrere, integros pro sauciis arces-
sere, omnia providere, multum ipse pugnare, saepe
hostem ferire: strenui militis et boni imperatoris
officia simul exequebatur. Petreius, ubi videt 5
Catilinam contra ac ratus erat magna vi tendere,
cohortem praetoriam in medios hostis inducit eosque
perturbatos atque alios alibi resistentis interficit.
deinde utrimque ex lateribus ceteros aggreditur.
Manlius et Faesulanus in primis pugnantes cadunt. 6
Catilina postquam fusas copias seque cum paucis 7
relictum videt, memor generis atque pristinae suae
dignitatis in confertissumos hostis incurrit ibique
pugnans confoditur.

Sed confecto proelio tum vero cerneres, quanta **61**
audacia quantaque animi vis fuisset in exercitu
Catilinae. nam fere quem quisque vivos pugnando 2
locum ceperat, eum amissa anima corpore tegebat.

1 a ferentariis *C Nonius* a *om. PC* (*put over the line in* P^1) *Dietsch puts* a *in brackets* | posset *pC* possit *PC*

2 cum *is struck out by Wirz, and bracketed by Dietsch*

11 tendere *PC* contendere *C*

16 catilina *om. PC over the line after* postquam *or* uidet *or in margin C*

22 vivos *Vogel proposes to strike out. The words* vivos pugnando locum *appear in different order in some of the MSS*: v. l. p.: p. l. v.: l. p. v.

3 pauci autem, quos medios cohors praetoria dis-
iecerat, paulo divorsius sed omnes tamen advorsis
4 volneribus conciderant. Catilina vero longe a suis
inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam
spirans ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivos, in
5 voltu retinens. postremo ex omni copia neque in
proelio neque in fuga quisquam civis ingenuus
6 captus est: ita cuncti suae hostiumque vitae iuxta
7 pepercerant. neque tamen exercitus populi Ro-
mani laetam aut incruentam victoriam adeptus
erat. nam strenuissumus quisque aut occiderat in
8 proelio aut graviter volneratus discesserat. multi
autem, qui e castris visundi aut spoliandi gratia
processerant, volventes hostilia cadavera amicum
alii pars hospitem aut cognatum reperiebant; fuere
9 item qui inimicos suos cognoscerent. ita varie per
omnem exercitum laetitia maeror luctus atque
gaudia agitabantur.

2 *Diomedes and Charisius both give as an example of an old form* alis *for* alius *in Sallust* alis alibi stantes ceciderunt omnes tamen advorsis (adversis *Diom.*) vulneribus conciderunt. *Dietsch prints the words* alis alibi stantes *after* divorsius, *but in italics—see notes*

18 C. SALLVSTII CRISPI BELLVM CATILINĘ EXPLICIT INCIPIT BELLVM IVGVRTHIN˜ FALSO—GENVS *P*

NOTES.

The Title of the Work.—What did Sallust call the monograph? For the title which it bears at the present day, *de coniuratione Catilinae* (taken from C. 4. 3), there is no authority. The grammarians describe the work in a variety of ways, but never in this. Priscian writes (always I believe) *in Catilinario* (sc. *bello*), Nonius *in Catilinae bello*, and elsewhere we find *in Catilinae historia*, and the convenient *in Catilina* is often used. Our best MS (P) calls the book at the beginning *bellum Catulinarium*, and at the end *bellum Catilinae.* There is little doubt, then, but that the word *Bellum* came into it. Wölfflin says "In contrast to Cicero, who liked to describe the movement as a *civilis coniuratio* (Ep. 5. 12. 2 quoted in note to 4. 2 carptim), the historian laid stress on the designation *bellum*, as a protest against Cicero's verse, *Cedant arma togae concedat laurea laudi*". Was it then *Bellum Catilinarium* or *Bellum Catilinae?* Probably the latter. Quintilian (3. 8. 9) describes the two works thus—*in bello Iugurthino et Catilinae.* And Florus, who took his account from Sallust (see note on 61. 2), calls his chapter on the conspiracy *Bellum Catilinae.* The adjective *Catilinarius* in fact does not seem to occur till Priscian, a native of Constantinople, ventured on it. (*Catilinarum* is the true reading in Cic. in Cat. 2. 10. 23; and Pliny the elder wrote *Catilinianus.*) It was avoided, as Wölfflin thinks, because of the double meaning of which it is capable (see note on 5. 1). Priscian however does not scruple to call the orations against Verres—*Verrinae.*

A word on another question suggested by the two titles in P. Did not perhaps Sallust write *Catulinae?* Prof. Wölfflin writes to me: "There would be no difficulty, if we might assume that Sallust called his work *Bellum Catulinae:* then the fore-title is modernized by the substitution of the adjective which came into vogue after Priscian, but the *u* is retained; while the after-title has retained the genitive, but lost the *u.*

In Suetonius de illustr. gramm. 17 the best MSS have *Catulinae*".

Ch. **1**—**2**, 2] Argument:—The aim of life should be to leave a noble name behind us. This object is to be attained by the employment, not of the body but of the mind—the nobler part. In whatever path of life one may choose, the mind is capable of greater things than the body. That this is so has been proved (1) in the struggles of war; though (2) in the public affairs of peace (alas) the mind has not been allowed to show its supremacy: here rather do we note the disorder which exclusive devotion to our lower nature produces. (3) In the practical affairs of private life too it is only by strenuous exercise of our higher powers that success and fame are achieved. (4) And lastly the mind can win for one who uses his talent a name in the sphere of historical literature.

Something of the kind seems to be the thread of this introduction, but the theme is treated in a somewhat confused fashion. Perhaps Sallust felt that himself, for the preface to the Jugurtha handles almost the very same ideas far more successfully. What is *here* as Mr Simcox rather too severely says 'a frigid mass of aphorisms' becomes *there* a really 'moving piece of eloquence'.

Both these prefaces are justly censured by Quintilian (3. 8. 9) as having nothing to do with history—he attributes them to imitation of Isocrates and Gorgias. But it must be remembered that Sallust was attempting something of a new departure. Historical writing, at the time when he set himself to the task, was in low repute. Even the most distinguished of his predecessors, M. Cornelius Sisenna, is not thought much of by Cicero (Legg. 1. 2. 7 *Sisenna...omnis adhuc nostros scriptores...facile superavit: is tamen...in historia puerile quiddam consectatur*— and cp. Brutus 64. 228). It was not then unnatural that Sallust should seek, as he does in this introduction, to claim for the historian and his work a higher consideration.

1. sese student praestare] Cp. Ter. Eun. pr. 1 *si quisquam est qui placere se studeat bonis quam plurimis.* Cic. de off. 2. 20. 70 *ille tenuis...gratum se videri studet.* The construction of acc. with inf. when the subject of both verbs is the same is rare with *studeo* though not uncommon with *volo* and *cupio.* Sallust so constructs *properare* 7, 6. C. W. Nauck insists that peculiar emphasis is intended by (*a*) the insertion of *se* at all, (*b*) by its strengthened form *sese* and not *se*, and (*c*) by its prominent position; and translates, 'All men who strive to make conspicuous in themselves the superiority of mankind to the other animals'; comparing Cic. in Cat. 1. 2. 4 *cupio me esse clementem* 'I desire to be recognized as humane', and de

off. 2. 22. 78 *qui...se populares esse volunt* 'who aim at the reputation of popular statesmen'. It may be questioned however if it is not rather a colloquialism, ordinary conversation being unwilling to give *studeo* two constructions.

silentio] in a passive sense. Cp. 2. 8 *de utraque siletur.* Other ablatives of manner without attributes in S. are—*strepitu* (*adventare* J. 53. 7), *cursu* (*tendere* J. 91. 4), *contubernio* (*patris militabat* J. 64. 4) etc.

prona] The idea is common in the classics before and after Sallust. Plat. Rep. 586 A *βοσκημάτων δίκην κάτω ἀεὶ βλέποντες καὶ κεκυφότες εἰς γῆν καὶ εἰς τραπέζας βόσκονται χορταζόμενοι καὶ ὀχεύοντες.* Xen. Mem. 1. 4. 11 *οἱ (θεοὶ) πρῶτον μὲν μόνον τῶν ζώων ἄνθρωπον ὀρθὸν ἀνέστησαν· ἡ δὲ ὀρθότης καὶ προορᾶν πλεῖον ποιεῖ δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ ὕπερθεν μᾶλλον θεᾶσθαι.*

2. **sed nostra omnis vis**] There is no especial emphasis on *nostra. Omnis* as in Caesar's—*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres.* 'Now our energy taken as a whole'.

animi imperio] 'The mind is the ruling, the body the serving element in us'.

alterum...alterum] do not, as some commentators explain, agree with *animi imperio uti* and *corporis servitio uti* (for the brutes do not subject the body but are its slaves), but refer loosely to *animus* and *corpus.* Cp. *alterum* below § 7.

beluis] The word is used in a similar passage in Cicero N. D. 2. 11. 29 *omnem enim naturam necesse est...habere aliquem in se principatum, ut in homine mentem, in belua quoddam simile mentis, unde oriantur rerum adpetitus. Belua* in contrast to man is perhaps the 'irrational', *bestia* or *fera* the 'savage' beast.

3. **quo mihi rectius videtur**] Rather with Gründel 'and so, as it seems to me, it is more reasonable etc.', than as Kritz explains *quanto autem dii praestant beluis, tanto rectius videtur.*

vita ipsa qua fruimur] i.e. our life on earth by itself, as contrasted with posthumous life in the memory of survivors.

4. **fluxa atque fragilis**] 'fleeting and frail'. Other alliterations in *f* employed by S. are: *fama atque fortuna, flagitium... facinus, foeda atque formidulosa, fortis fidosque, fusi fugatique.*

virtus...habetur] almost 'genius'. Cic. Fin. 4. 19. 54 *ingeni praestantia quem virtutem vocamus.* 'Genius is a glorious and eternal possession'.

5. **mortales**] S. uses the word in the singular J. 72. 2, 92. 2, and in the plural by itself often. He writes *multi mortales* always (never *multi homines*, lest a chance of alliteration should be thrown away), but *omnes mortales* and *omnes homines* indifferently. Cicero does not use *mortales* by itself, and does not object to *multi homines*. The various theories that it is an archaic word revived, that its use is due to Stoic influence, that it is employed in tacit opposition to *di*,—all want foundation. Nor is it a more comprehensive word than *homines* in S., as it should be according to Fronto (apud Gell. 13. 29). Livy and Tacitus followed S. in the free use of the word.

6. **consulto...facto**] So *incepto* 20. 10 and *perdita re publica opus esse* 31. 7.

7. **alterum**] resumes the *utrumque*, but is of course not necessary to the sense. Cp. Cic. T. D. 2. 5. 13 *ita est utraque res sine altera debilis.*

auxilio eget] With the abl. again in the introduction to the Jug. 1. 3 *neque fortuna eget* (*animus*), but generally in S. with gen.

Ch. **2**, 1. **igitur**] in S. always (in Cicero not rarely) is put the first word in the sentence, except in questions; 51. 43 *placet igitur eos dimitti?* J. 31. 18 *quid igitur censes?* Or. Mac. 14 *quid censes igitur?* C. 20. 14 *quin igitur expergiscimini?* Livy also often puts *igitur* first.

divorsi] i. e. taking different roads or directions.

pars...alii] The variety is very characteristic of Sallust. *Alii...alii*, it is true, is not uncommon, but *pars—pars* does not occur in the C. at all, and only two or three times in the Jugurtha. *Partim—partim* is never used. The variations are endless: *pars—alii, partim—alii, pauci—pars, pars—reliqui, sunt qui—alii*—in this or the reversed order, and many others. In triple division: *alii—alii—pars, alii—alii—multi, alii—pars —sunt qui.*

agitabatur] The constant use of this word is one of the blots of Sallust's style, and serves to give a tone of monotony, which his striving after variety in other ways hardly removes. The following are samples of the different senses in which it is used: (1) J. 53. 1 *rati humum aridam vento agitari.* (2) C. 5. 7 *agitabatur magis magisque indies animus ferox inopia rei familiaris et conscientia scelerum.* (3) C. 53. 4 *ac mihi multa agitanti constabat paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse.* (4) J. 54. 2 *Iugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitaret ...exploratum misit.* (5) *agitare imperium* (*pacem bellum moras gaudium praesidium*)—a conversational use. Cic. Verr. 5. 114 and 154 *dies festos agitare*, for the *agere* which alone is used in

later works. (6) Absolutely in a variety of meanings. Ep. Pomp. 9 *Gallia...nunc malis fructibus ipsa vix agitat* (supports itself). J. 18. 9 *ei propius mare Africum agitabant* (lived). J. 74. 1 *varius incertusque agitabat* (behaved). J. 59. 1 *equitatum omnem pro castris agitare iubet* (stand). The word thus tends to lose its edge and to become a mere equivalent of *agere*, so that *exagitare* has often to be called in. Sallust himself seems to have grown tired of the word. In the C. it is quite as common as *agere*, but in the Jugurtha, and still more again in the Histories, *agere* comes more into use in its place. It is said that S. got to use frequentatives generally less and less. That is perhaps rather doubtful, but the following occur only in the C.—*exercitare rogitare adflictare amplexari captare vexare*, but these, except the last, occur only once there.

2. **habere**] not=*putare*, but to *have* in their lust of rule a reason for war.

putare] 'to find'. The *esse* is always omitted after *putare* by S. Cp. J. 85. 21 *eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant*, etc. For the turn—of which S. is fond—cp. C. 43. 4 *maxumum bonum in celeritate putabat.* C. 19. 2 *boni conplures praesidium in eo putabant.* J. 53. 3 *dum in elephantis auxilium putabant.*

periculo atque negotiis] Nonius quotes this to show that sometimes *periculum*=*experimentum* (cp. Caes. B. G. 1. 40. 5 *factum eius hostis periculum patrum nostrorum memoria*). But it is rather a hendiadys, 'hazardous affairs'. So says Macaulay, IV. 409, writing of the battle of Landen. The lot of the two generals ('the hunchbacked dwarf'—Luxembourg, and the 'asthmatic skeleton'—William) "had fallen on a time when men had discovered that the strength of the muscles is far inferior in value to the strength of the mind."

3. The connexion is perhaps—Rulers have discovered the superiority which a strenuous use of the mind gives in *war;* that the same holds good in *peace* they do not appear to have discovered, though it is no less true.

regum atque imperatorum] The second is the more comprehensive word (=rulers whatever their title), as in *periculo atque negotiis* above; and perhaps *regum* in reference to Cyrus, and *imp.* in reference to the Greeks.

neque aliud] C. W. Nauck remarks that the first *neque* here does double duty: it serves both to connect this clause with the preceding, and also answers to the following *neque*—'and you would see neither general distraction nor confusion worse confounded'. It may be questioned however whether

this clause is meant to be thus connected with the preceding—when that is meant an *et* is used: cp. J. 89. 7 *Numidae plerumque lacte ac ferina carne vescebantur et neque salem neque alia inritamenta gulae quaerebant.* Other instances parallel to the present will be found in C. 11. 3, 58. 1, and 10, J. 24. 3.

4. **eis artibus]** *Artes* ('qualities' or 'means') is a favourite word with Sallust, especially in the phrases *bonae artes* (virtues), *malae artes* (vices). It should be *his* not *eis*, says Kvíčala, for *eis* would include the statement that power won by violence requires violence to maintain it, which is true but not in Sallust's mind, while *his* would confine the reference to the good qualities mentioned above. But Sallust is not so deep as that.

5. **invasere]** Another favourite word of Sallust's. It is here used absolutely as in 10. 6; J. 41. 9; cp. Ter. Hec. 356 *an dolor repente invasit?* Liv. 5. 13. 2 *dulcedo invasit...plebeios creandi.* Elsewhere in S. it takes an acc., as in Livy (except in J. 32. 4 and Liv. 28. 29 *nec maior in corpus meum vis morbi quam in vestras mentes invasit*). Cicero always uses a preposition—see *incedere* 7. 3.

fortuna] 'position'. Cp. 51. 13 *in maxuma fortuna minuma licentia est.*

6. **transfertur]** 'passes'.

7. **quae homines arant...virtuti omnia parent]** i.e. *quae homines agunt, cum vel arant vel navigant vel aedificant.* 'In agriculture, shipping, building—everything depends upon energy'. For *parent* cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 3. 94 *omnis enim res Virtus fama decus divina humanaque pulchris Divitiis parent.*

8. **peregrinantes]** The foreigner does not trouble to acquaint himself with the interests of the country, in which he is only a passing sojourner.

transiere] is more appropriate than *transegere* (though the MSS are in its favour) to *peregrinantes*, and is supported by 1. 1 *ne vitam silentio transeant.* Some editors however think that with Sallust's love of variety that passage is rather in favour of *transegere.* The variety however is rather of construction than of phrase.

anima] It is said that we have *anima* and not *animus* here, because the sensual man can only be credited with the *anima*, which the brutes share with man. That however is fanciful: cp. 1. 2 *sed nostra omnis vis in* animo *et corpore sita est* with J. 2. 1 *nam uti genus hominum conpositum ex corpore et* anima *est* e. q. s.

iuxta aestumo] 'to value highly' or 'lightly' according to the context—a use peculiar to S.

9. **verum enimvero**] Again in 20. 10. It is common in the historians, but rare in Cicero.

frui anima] 'to have *real* enjoyment of'.

aliquo negotio intentus] *Intentus* is generally used absolutely, and more often than not with another participle or adj.—*infensi intentique*, *intento atque infesto*, *intenti paratique* etc. Occasionally however it has a noun with it: C. 54. 4 *negotiis intentus*. J. 76. 2 *Metellus, ubi oppidanos proelio intentos...videt, vallo fossaque moenia circumvenit.* J. 44. 3 *expectatione eventus civium animos intentos putabat.* The commentators take this case to be the dative where that is possible, indeed some propose to read *aliquoi* here (a form that the MSS never exhibit, and *aliquo* is supported here by Arusian). It is just as likely that in these instances the nouns are also in the ablative, and that *intentus* retains its full participial force, 'kept on the stretch by'.

Ch. **3, 1. bene facere rei publicae**] not 'to benefit the state', but 'to act well for the advantage of the state'. *Bene facere* (and *bene facta*) in this sense is common in Cato, from whom perhaps S. borrowed the expression.

vel pace vel bello] instrumental ablative.

2. **auctorem**] P has *auctorem* here, but in J. 1. 4 (*suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt*) *actores*. Jordan rightly reads *auctores* there too, while Dietsch prefers *actorem* and *actores*. It is true that *auctor* is often used = *scriptor*, yet it is likely enough that, as S. distinguishes (1. 6) between the planning and execution of an act, he should emphasize the first and more important stage, and prefer to say the author (that is, the originator and executor) rather than the mere agent.

arduum] Certain *malevoli reprehensores*, says Gell. 4. 15, objected to the use of *arduum* here. *Non enim causa videri debet, cur historiae opus 'arduum' sit, quod hi, qui legunt, aut inique interpretantur, quae scripta sunt, aut vera esse non credunt.* To which the reply is—*Sed 'arduum' Sallustius non pro difficili tantum, sed pro eo quoque ponit, quod Graeci χαλεπὸν appellant, quod est cum difficile, tum molestum quoque et incommodum et intractabile.*

facta dictis exaequanda sunt] Cp. Liv. 6. 20. 8 *et cum ea quoque, quae bello gesta essent, pro fastigio rerum oratione etiam magnifica, facta dictis aequando, memorasset.* Plin. Ep. 8. 4 *una sed maxima difficultas, quod haec aequare*

dicendo arduum, immensum, etiam tuo ingenio, quamquam altissime adsurgat et amplissimis operibus increscat. Isocr. 4. 13 *ὡς χαλεπόν ἐστιν ἴσους τοὺς λόγους τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἐξευρεῖν.* So Sallust's words mean perhaps,—it is difficult for verbal expression to maintain the level of the subject-matter. Yet Kritz' interpretation fits the context better—it is difficult enough to give a picture in words in accord with the fact, but the worst of it is that when you have succeeded in that you are carped at alike, when you praise and when you blame. *Exaequare* seems to be a conversational equivalent for *aequare*, which S. does not employ. Compare the passages from Livy and Pliny quoted above, and 59. 1, *remotis omnium equis, quo militibus exaequato periculo animus amplior esset*, with Caes. B. G. 1. 25. 1 *Caesar...remotis equis, ut* aequato *omnium periculo,* e.q.s. and Liv. 3. 62. 8 aequato *periculo. Exaequare* occurs very often in Vitruvius. Elsewhere *coaequare* C. 20. 11, and *adaequare* J. 4. 6, are used. In the same way S. uses C. 31. 5 (*causa*) *sui* expurgandi, while Caesar writes *sui* purgandi *causa.* Other instances of Sallust's use of a compound verb where the simple verb is the classical use are: *coire* (H. 4. 26 *qui quidem mos ut tabes in urbem coierit*), *conlubere conmaculare conmercari conminuere conturbare degustare denegare derelinquere desenescere devincere*, etc. For the reverse, the simple used instead of the compound verb, see note on 7. 7 *pugnando.*

dehinc quia plerique, &c.] Clearly taken from Pericles' speech, Thuc. 2. 35. 2 *ὅ τε ἄπειρος (νομίσειεν ἂν) ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόνον, εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι. μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί εἰσι περὶ ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι ὧν ἤκουσεν· τῷ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν.* Other equally obvious imitations from Thucydides are to be found in 38. 3 and 52. 11; and cp. J. 7. 5 (*et proelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio, quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet*) with Thuc. 2. 40. 3 *διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι· ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει*: and in J. 60. 1—4 the besieged people of Zama are made to imitate the excitement of the land forces of the Athenians at Syracuse, Thuc. 7. 71. 2—4: cp. especially *τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτοῖς ἴσα τῇ δόξῃ περιδεῶς ξυναπονεύοντες* with *niti corporibus et ea huc et illuc quasi vitabundi aut jacientes tela agitare.* These are far from being the only obligations of Sallust to Thucydides, but they are the most certain. Next to Thucydides (the first three books especially) Demosthenes Isocrates Xenophon and Plato seem to have been Sallust's favourite Greek authors. It is in the earlier

chapters of the Catiline that S. draws most heavily from Greek originals; chh. 15—36 are however, as far as has been shown, free from imitation.

supra ea] together form a substitute for an adjective: cp. J. 85. 2 *mihi contra ea videtur*. *Supra ea* (i.e. *quae supra ea sunt*) is Sallust's translation for Thucydides' *τῷ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν*.

3. **pro pudore, e. q. s.**] Here as often the contrasted words are arranged rather with a view to sound than to exact correspondence. *Audacia* answers to *pudor*, and for the others—offices are sought no longer by worth (*virtus*) but by bribery (*largitio*), nor are they administered with *abstinentia*, but only for gain (*avaritia*).

5. **reliquorum...ceteros**] *Reliquorum*, the public men of Rome in general: *ceteros*, all the rest of his colleagues.

cupido] The word is not found in Cic. and Caes. *Cupiditas*, their substitute, is found only three times in S. (C. 2. 1, 5. 4, 21. 4). In Tac. *cupido* by degrees entirely supplants *cupiditas*. In his smaller works *cupiditas* is used four times, *cupido* once: in the Hist. *cupido* is five times as common as *cupiditas*: in the Ann. *cupiditas* is not used at all.

eadem qua] *Eadem quae* the reading of P, which Kortte explains—*me vexabat honoris cupido, et vexabat praeterea etiam eadem quae ceteros fama atque invidia*, and Linker—*h. cupido vexabat me eadem fama atque invidia quae ceteros vexabat*—will hardly do. And even if we read *qua* it seems a strange form of expression. Kortte's conj., which Dietsch adopts, *eadem eademque quae*, would remove all difficulty. (*Cupido eademque ceteros* is found in some MSS.)

Ch. **4**, 1. **bonum otium**] Contrasting the sweets of leisure with the disagreeables of ambition (*ambitio mala*, below).

servilibus officiis] If S. admired Cato's style, he despised his tastes, it seems. In his preface to his de re rustica, Cato says, *virum bonum cum laudabant* (*maiores nostri*), *ita laudabant, Bonum agricolam bonumque colonum.* And Cicero (Cato M. 15. 51) puts into his mouth the sentiment, *venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum; quibus ego incredibiliter delector, quae...mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere.* Some commentators, however, cannot believe that S. meant to call agriculture, at any rate, which Roman opinion so highly valued, an occupation unworthy of a free man (cp. Cic. Off. 1. 42. 151 *omnium autem rerum, ex quibus aliquid adquiritur, nihil est agricultura melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius*, nihil homine libero dignius). They

explain therefore that S. meant only that an *exclusive* devotion to agriculture and hunting was to be deprecated, that these are occupations which slaves can prosecute as well as any one else, they require so little intellect. Kvíčala takes *colundo aut venando* with *aetatem agere*, and explains *servilibus officiis* (dative) *intentum* 'superintending the performances of my slaves'.—*Colundo* and *venando*, says Madvig, must be ablatives, as there is no certain instance in prose of the dative of the gerund governing an accusative.

2. **carptim**] S. is rather fond of adverbs in *-im*. As Sisenna's few fragments have some fifteen of them, it is not improbable that S. followed his example. Sisenna writes for instance *vellicatim ac saltuatim scribendo.* Sallust had not presumably at this time formed the plan of writing the history of Rome from 676 to 687 in five books, which he afterwards carried out; though, as compared with a work like Livy's, for instance, even that might be called a selection. There are theories however that all his works were written in the form of essays, and that the putting together was the work of early grammarians. Others think that the Catiline at any rate though published separately was intended to be incorporated in the larger historical work. That such a course was sometimes followed is shown by a letter of Cicero to Lucceius (Ep. 5. 12. 2) where C. urging his correspondent to write a work on his consulship suggests to him—*coniunctene malles cum reliquis rebus nostra contexere an, ut multi Graeci fecerunt, Callisthenes Phocicum bellum, Timaeus Pyrrhi, Polybius Numantinum, qui omnes a perpetuis suis historiis ea, quae dixi, bella separaverunt, tu quoque item civilem coniurationem ab hostilibus externisque bellis seiungeres.*

spe, metu, partibus] So H. 1. 5 *neque me divorsa pars in civilibus armis movit a vero.* Tac. A. 1. 1 *sine ira et studio quorum caussas procul habeo.*

3. **de...absolvam**] Elsewhere with acc. 38. 3; J. 17. 2 *cetera quam paucissumis absolvam.* The meaning 'relate', given often to *absolvo* in S., is perhaps peculiar to him.

de Catilinae coniuratione] Hence the modern and appropriate title of the work.

paucis] Acron on Hor. Sat. 1. 10. 9 *sic et Cato laudatur a Sallustio quod multa paucis absolverit.*

4. **facinus**] Perhaps merely 'enterprise', cp. 32. 2; J. 49. 4 *uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat,* though *facinus* without an epithet is generally used in a bad sense.

5. **prius...quam...faciam**] *Antequam*, Tacitus' favourite, hardly occurs in S. at all. It is used once in J. 97. 4 for variety—*et priusquam exercitus aut instrui aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum aut imperium ullum accipere quivit*, and twice perhaps in fragments.—*Faciam*: for the subjunctive cp. Cic. de Or. 1. 59. 251 (*Graeci tragoedi*) *cotidie, antequam pronuntient, vocem cubantes sensim excitant*, Tac. H. 1. 4 *antequam destinata componam, repetundum videtur.* The subj. is of course not necessary; in the parallel passage in the J. 5. 3 the ind. is used, *sed priusquam huiuscemodi rei initium expedio pauca supra repetam.* And cp. Cic. Phil. 1. 1. 1 *ante quam de re publica P. C. dicam ea quae dicenda hoc tempore arbitror, exponam vobis* e. q. s. with Phil. 2. 1. 3 *priusquam de ceteris rebus respondeo ... pauca dicam.* The subjunctive (acc. to Kühnast Liv. Syn. p. 238) is used when it is desired to represent the arrangement as designedly logical.

Ch. **5**, 1. **L. Catilina**] Dietsch writes *Lucius* in full. But the abbreviation is always used. Only one exception is known to Mommsen—an old grave-stone to a citizen of Praeneste, on which *Sextus* is written out.—The name *Catilina* was probably spelt originally *Catulina*, which is used by Pliny (sc. *caro*—'dog's-flesh'). Compare the names *Porcina*, and *Aprulla* (Wölfflin).

nobili genere natus] L. Sergius Catilina. The Sergii claimed descent from Sergestus. (Verg. A. 5, 121.) Cp. Iuv. 8. 231 *quid, Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi Inveniat quisquam sublimius?*

2. **ibique iuventutem suam exercuit**] The tastes which C. imbibed during the civil war between Marius and Sulla he was able to indulge in the time of the Sullan proscriptions.—This is the only place in S. where *iuventus* is used for the time of youth, elsewhere it is collective = *iuvenes*.—*Ibique* = *in eisque rebus.* This use of adverbs is very common in S. J. 79. 8 *ut vel illi, quos finis populo suo peterent,* ibi *vivi obruerentur.* C. 20. 8 *divitiae apud illos sunt, aut* ubi *illi volunt.* J. 14. 22 *iamiam frater...quamquam tibi inmaturo, et* unde (= *a quo*) *minume decuit, vita erepta est.* For *quo* cp. J. 66. 2 *Vagenses, quo Metellus...praesidium inposuerat. eo* J. 75. 4 *pecoris...eo inponit vasa.*

3. Cp. Cic. in Cat. 1. 10. 26 *habes ubi ostentes illam tuam praeclaram patientiam, famis frigoris inopiae rerum omnium.* 2. 5. 9 *atque idem...frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis fortis ab istis praedicabatur.* 3. 7. 16 *nihil erat quod non ipse obiret occurreret vigilaret laboraret, frigus sitim famem ferre poterat.* Sallust uses words that lie further off the beaten track. The unusual singular *vigilia* is used for concinnity; cp.

Velleius 2. 79 *labore vigilia periculo invictus*, and in S. cp. C. 15. 4 *neque vigiliis neque* quietibus. J. 41. 7 *penes eosdem aerarium provinciae magistratus* gloriae *triumphique*. J. 31. 20 *regna provinciae leges iura iudicia bella atque* paces.

supra quam] Again J. 24. 5 *nisi tamen intellego illum supra quam ego sum petere*. The more usual *ultra quam* he does not use. Quintil. 10. 1. 101 has it in the same connexion *in contionibus supra quam enarrari potest eloquentem*.

4. **varius**] So Plutarch describes him (Cic. 10) ἄνδρα τολμητὴν καὶ μεγαλοπράγμονα καὶ ποικίλον τὸ ἦθος, and Cicero p. Cael. 6. 14 *haec illi tam varia multiplexque natura*.

simulator ac dissimulator] J. 64. 1 *contemptor animus*. J. 44. 1 *praedator*. J. 54. 3 *cultor*. J. 63. 2 *victor*. Cic. p. Mil. 19. 50 *ille latronum occultator et receptor locus*. J. 12. 5 *mulieris ancillae*.

sui profusus] Such genitives after adjectives are very common in S., after for instance—*insolens insolitus prudens egregius manifestus sciens liberalis*. In the present case the unusual *sui profusus* is used to correspond with the regular *alieni adpetens*. Tacitus imitates the phrase (6. 31) *prodigi alieni, contemptores sui*. H. 1. 49 *pecuniae alienae non adpetens, suae parcus, publicae avarus*.

satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum] *Eloquentiae* is without doubt the true reading. The *loquentiae* of the late MSS came perhaps from Probus. Gellius 1. 15. 18 was informed that Probus preferred to read *loquentiae*, *quod* loquentia *novatori verborum Sallustio maxime congrueret;* eloquentia *cum insipientia minime conveniret*. On the latter point cp. (if necessary) Cic. de inv. 1. 1. The word is used only once again C. 54. 1; the adjective *eloquens* is never used. *Facundia* and *facundus*, their equivalents in conversational language, which Cicero and Caesar do not employ, take their place.

5. **vastus animus**] 'his insatiable appetite', or "a great unfurnished spirit" with Mr Simcox.

inmoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta] S. is very free in his use of adjectives and participles, J. 29. 2 *a bono honestoque in pravom abstractus est*. J. 48. 3 *humi arido atque harenoso*. Or. Phil. 20 *libertas et vera*. Or. Lep. 25 *pax et conposita*. J. 79. 6 *loca...nuda gignentium*.

6. **post dominationem L. Sullae**] i.e. from the time when Sulla's tyranny had begun. Cp. 38. 3 *post illa tempora*. J. 5. 4 *Bello Punico secundo quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiae opes maxume adtriverat*.

dum...pararet] *dum* (as in 40. 4) = *dummodo*, which S. does not use.

quicquam pensi habebat] This phrase is not used by Cicero or Caesar. The *pensi* depends on *quicquam*, as on *nihil* in 12. 2, and is not a genitive of price. The phrase *pensi habere*, where 'pensi' *is* a genitive of price (cp. Tac. A. 13. 15 *neque fas neque fidem pensi haberet*), is a later, and perhaps mistaken development,

7. **quae utraque]** For the neuter in agreement with two or more feminine substantives cp. 3. 4 *audacia largitio avaritia vigebant. Quae* e. q. s. etc., and 20. 2 *ni virtus fidesque vostra spectata forent* (see note). For the plural of *uterque* when the two things referred to are singular, perhaps a conversational inexactitude, cp. 30. 4 *ei utrique ad urbem imperatores erant.*

8. Perhaps from Cato, who (apud Liv. 34. 4) said, *diversis duobus vitiis avaritia atque luxuria civitatem laborare saepe me querentem audistis.*

9. **hortari...supra repetere]** *Hortari* is used with the inf. when the subject is not personal, as are *monere*, 52. 3 *res monet cavere;* and *postulare*, J. 17. 1 *res postulare videtur...exponere. Hortari* is used with the supine in Or. Mac. 17 *neque ego vos ultum iniurias hortor.*

de moribus admonuit] *Admonere de* occurs only here in S.: with the acc. J. 79. 1 *eam rem nos locus admonuit:* with gen. C. 21. 4 *admonebat alium egestatis.* J. 95. 2 *nos tanti viri res admonuit.*

instituta] *Disserere* has three objects, (1) *instituta*, (2) *quo modo...reliquerint*, (3) *ut...facta sit*—a notable instance of Sallust's fondness for variety of construction.

atque optuma] The words are I think indispensable in spite of their omission from the best manuscripts. Cp. 10. 6 *civitas ex iustissumo atque optumo crudele intolerandumque factum.*

Ch. **6**, 1. It is rather provoking to be taken back to the Aborigines, but not to connect his history with the beginnings of Rome would perhaps have been too daring an innovation. The annalists always did so, and Sallust's predecessor Sisenna and his successor Tacitus (in the Annals) all conform to the custom. Cicero, on the other hand, is criticized (Dio 46. 21) for beginning his history of Rome—the memoirs of his consulship—*οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπατείας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἤρξατο.* The view of

the origin of Rome which Sallust, rejecting Romulus, adopts, came no doubt from Cato, who is reported by Servius on Verg. A. 1. 36 as saying, *primo Italiam tenuisse quosdam qui appellabantur Aborigines, postea adventu Aeneae Phrygibus iunctos Latinos suo nomine nuncupatos.* The description of the Aborigines, which occurs with little variation in Cic. de inv. 2, Varro and Vitruvius, comes, according to Jordan (Krit. Beit. p. 359), from Dicaearchus, whose ideal portraiture of these people is extant. The Romans pronounced the name Aborigīnes (Ἀβοριγῖνες in Strabo etc.). It is Greek according to Rubino (Beitr. zür Vorgeschichte Italiens, p. 47) and means 'inhabitants of the mountain-valleys'. He regards the account given by Sallust as so far historical as that the Latin nation were formed by a union of these Aborigines, who came from about Amiternum, and some immigrants who came by sea. The identification of these settlers with Aeneas and his followers was a later Greek addition.

cumque eis] The *que* is generally appended to the following word and not to a *monosyllabic* preposition, when the prep. is not repeated. *Cumque*, as here, is said to occur in Cicero only seven times, but *deque* (cp. C. 48. 5 *deque ea re*) seventeen times.

agreste] in a bad sense. Cp. Cic. Rosc. Am. 27. 75 *vita autem haec rustica, quam tu agrestem vocas, parsimoniae diligentiae iustitiae magistra est.*

sine legibus, sine imperio, liberum atque solutum] An instance of chiasmus: *sine legibus* i.e. *solutum, sine imperio* i.e. *liberum.* The arrangement of four words in pairs, the first pair without copula, the second with *atque*, is very common in S., e.g. *armis cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu: odio amicitia, ira atque misericordia: patriae parentibus, aris atque focis: taetra inculta, foeda atque formidulosa: laetitia maeror, luctus atque gaudia: etc.*

2. **alii]** It is necessary surely to leave P (which has *alius*) here, for the meaning is that one people lived in one way, and the other in another, not that the individuals lived in all sorts of different ways.

ita brevi...erat] This sentence, which is wanting in the best MSS, is introduced by Augustine (see critical notes) among quotations from Cicero and Sallust. It has been claimed for Cicero's Republic (1. 25. 40). The appearance in this place is probably due to somebody familiar with Augustine's works putting them down in the margin. Is such a sentence needed here? As Jordan well says, it is essential that we should be told that a state was formed, and the finishing-

up sentence is very much in Sallust's manner; cp. C. 7. 3; J. 40. 3; C. 65. 5.

3. **postquam...videbatur**] 'after that it began to appear'. Cp. 56. 4 *postquam Antonius cum exercitu adventabat.* The construction of *postquam* with ind. impf. reached its height in Livy. For *p.* followed first by perf. and then by impf. cp. 10. 1 note on *patebant.*

sicuti...habentur] =*ut in plerisque quae mortalium sunt fieri solet.* Kritz.

4. **pauci**] i.e. *only* a few.

aberant] 'kept themselves out of' with an active sense, as in Caes. B. G. 6. 14. 1 *Druides a bello abesse consuerunt.*

5. **auxilia portabant**] for *ferebant.* Cp. 42. 2 *portationibus.* Liv. 45. 1 *laetum nuntium portabant.* Ov. Pont. 3. 4. 1 *portantia verba salutem.* The strictly classical use of *portare* is, as Döderlein says, *de rebus gravioris ponderis.* Sallust's use of the word and the two examples I have quoted show the beginnings of its usurping the place of *ferre*, which it ended by altogether supplanting. Compare with instances already given Cic. Fin. 2. 35. 118 *opem salutemque ferres.* Cicero writes to his brother 2. 10. 2 *cum hominem portarem ad Baias Neapoli octophoro Aniciano,* but Verr. 5. 11. 27 *lectica octophoro ferebatur.* Caesar says always *sarcinas conferre,* but the author of the Bellum Africanum uses *comportare.* Later authors write: *beneficia portare, auspicia portare.* Apuleius has *suppetias portare,* and even *aetatem bellule portare.* (Cp. French *porter.*)

magisque dandis e.q.s.] From Thuc. 2. 40. 6 *οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ ἀλλὰ δρῶντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους.*

6. **rei publicae consultabant**] S. is fond of using the frequentative for the simple verb, and so here *consultare* takes the meaning and construction of *consulere.* The construction is found here only—except for an imitation by Aurelius Victor (4th century).

patres] Cp. Cic. R. P. 2. 8. 14...*regium consilium delegerat principes, qui appellati sunt propter caritatem patres.* Florus 1. 1. 15...*consilium rei publicae penes senes esset, qui ex auctoritate patres ob aetatem senatus vocabantur. Patres* became a synonym for *senatores,* because the original senate was made up of all the *patres familias* who were *seniores,* who were, that is, over 45 years of age. The title at a later time was also used as a synonym for the patricians generally, the

patricii having been originally so called as being members of the families from which the *patres* came. (Willems.)

7. **quod initio...fuerat**] This construction is rare before S. Cicero appears to have only two instances: de Inv. 2. 47. 138 *omnia supplicia...culpae ac malitiae vindicandae constituta esse.* Verr. 2. 53. 132 *quae res evertendae rei publicae solerent esse.* Caesar has one only B. G. 4. 17. 10 *si naves deiciendi operis essent a barbaris missae.* S. has C. 46. 2 *poenam illorum sibi oneri, impunitatem perdundae rei publicae fore credebat.* J. 88. 4 *quae postquam gloriosa modo neque belli patrandi cognovit* (sc. *esse*). Or. Lep. 3 *at ille eo processit ut nihil gloriosum nisi tutum et omnia retinendae dominationis honesta aestumet.* Or. Phil. 3 *exercitum opprimundae libertatis habet;* id. 6 *cum privata arma opprimundae libertatis cepisset;* id. 11 (*arma civilia cepit*) *non pro sua aut quorum simulat iniuria sed legum ac libertatis subvortundae;* H. 3. 54 (M. Antonius) *perdundae pecuniae genitus* (dat.?). The construction is probably, as Jordan (Krit. Beit. p. 285) maintains, a development of the older construction with the dative, well-known in the elliptical formulae—*decemviri legibus scribendis, comitia collegae creando* etc., in which the genitive begins to appear in Livy.

se convortit] The *se* is omitted only in some inferior MSS, but this is the only place where S. puts the reflexive pronoun with *convorto* (or *vorto*); cp. C. 52. 27; J. 20. 4, 85. 9, 101. 6. Cicero writes Planc. 20. 50 *non dubito quin omnis ad te conversura fuerit multitudo* (Cobet however would write—*omnis se ad te*).

in superbiam dominationemque] 'into proud usurpation' or 'tyranny'.

Ch. **7**, 1. **ea tempestate**] Old-fashioned and poetical for *eo tempore*, as Cicero says de Or. 3. 38. 153—a favourite use with S.

2. **boni quam mali**] S. generally puts the contrasted words immediately on either side of *quam:* 1, 3 *ingeni quam virium opibus.* 54. 6 *esse quam videri bonus malebat.* J. 50. 6 *sin opportunior fugae collis quam campi fuerat.* J. 31. 28 P has *in re publica multo praestat beneficii quam maleficii memorem esse*, which V alters to—*beneficii memorem esse quam maleficii.*

3. **adepta libertate**] *Adeptus* is again used passively in J. 101. 9 *adeptam victoriam retinere cupit.* There is not any instance of this use of *adeptus* before Sallust, for in Cic. Cato M. 2. 4 *adepti* is the right reading. Plautus however has Trin.

367 *non aetate verum ingenio adipiscitur sapientia.* Other deponent participles used passively by S. are—*dilargitus enisus interpretatus ludificatus machinatus.*

incesserat] Dietsch, on the strength of Sallust's fondness for frequentatives, takes this to come from *incessere.* As it is always used, when taken in a figurative sense, in the perfect or pluperfect it is difficult to refute that, but it probably comes from *incedo.* The verb takes an acc. in Ep. Mith. 15 *inopia rursus ambos incessit:* a dat. in C. 31. 3 *mulieres, quibus rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus incessit.*

4. **simul ac]** is used here only in Sallust. *Ubi primum,* which is elsewhere used, is here avoided because of the *primum* immediately preceding.

in castris per laborem usum militiae discebat] *Usum militiae* is preferable to *usu militiam;* for *per laborem usu* without any link is very awkward. *Usum* is the practice as opposed to the mere theory. Cp. J. 85. 12, where Marius says: *Atque ego scio, Quirites, qui postquam consules facti sunt et acta maiorum et Graecorum militaria praecepta legere coeperint: praeposteri homines; nam gerere quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est.* For the expression *usum militiae,* cp. Caes. B. G. 6. 40. 6 *usu rei militaris.* B. C. 3. 84. 3 *qui cotidiana consuetudine usum quoque eius generis proeliorum perciperent.*

iuventus...erat...discebat...habebant] Cp. 23. 6 *namque antea pleraque* nobilitas *invidia* aestuabat *et quasi pollui consulatum* credebant. Herzog translates the *habebant* here, 'it was the fashion to find more amusement', and Dietsch says 'After speaking of the universal system of training for youth he goes on to show the result produced on the minds of each and all'. But the plural is probably an unintentional grammatical slip. A plural verb with a collective substantive is no more a recognized construction in Sall. than it is in Cicero or Caesar. Livy is the first good prose writer to make a constant use of the construction. *Pars* is found sometimes, it is true, with a plural verb, but it is always there coupled with *alii, pauci,* etc., and is rather in apposition with the true subject than itself the word agreed with. Of other collectives there are only two instances, J. 73. 3 *et Romae* plebes *litteris, quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitis volenti animo de ambobus* acceperant. Or. Lep. 12 *sociorum et Lati magna* vis *civitate pro multis et egregiis factis a vobis data per unum* prohibentur. The distance of the subject from the verb explains both these instances, and in the latter the *unum* has not been without influence on the number of the verb. Thucydides

offers many parallels to the present passage: cp. 1. 13. 1 *ναυτικά τε ἐξηρτύετο ἡ Ἑλλὰς καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ἀντείχοντο*, 2. 21. 5 *παντί τε τρόπῳ ἀνηρέθιστο ἡ πόλις καὶ τὸν Περικλέα ἐν ὀργῇ εἶχον*, but I do not think that Sall., though that has been maintained, is imitating Thucydides here.

6. **se...ferire...properabat**] See note on 1. 1. Here, however, the *se* is due to the *quisque*.

hostem ferire] occurs again 60. 4; J. 85. 33 (Marius' speech). The expression is used only by S. except for Ennius (apud Cic. Balb. 22. 51) *hostem qui feriet erit mihi Karthaginiensis*, and Liv. 22. 38. 4 *centuriati pedites coniurabant sese... neque ex ordine recessuros nisi...aut hostis feriendi aut civis servandi causa*. These instances show it to have been an old-fashioned expression, which lived on in the language of the camp.

facinus faceret] This particular instance of the *figura etymologica* is often used by S. Caesar, who avoids the figure altogether, would have written *f. admittere* instead. Cicero has the phrase once, Fin. 2. 29. 95 *vide ne facinus facias cum mori suadeas* (Madvig notes '*familiaris sermonis imitatio aliqua*'). All the instances in Cicero (e. g. *servitutem servire*, *vitam vivere*, *dicta dicere*, *gaudium gaudere*) are probably reminiscences of the comic poets. Livy has—besides *f. facere*—*acta agere*, *odio odisse*, *donis donare*, *edicto edicere* and others.

pecuniae] Cp. 5. 4 *sui*.

gloriam ingentem] A repetition in another form of *laudis avidi*, e. q. s. The adjectives are predicates:—there were no bounds to their desire for glory, while for wealth—the riches they desired were only such as could be honourably acquired and employed.

7. **memorare possem**] i. e. *memorarem*. Servius quotes the passage with *possum*.

pugnando] The simple for the compound verb—*expugnando* or *oppugnando*. So *quaerere* for *requirere*, J. 98. 3 (*collis*) *pauca munimenta quaerebat*: *terrere* for *deterrere*, Or. Lep. 6 *dum vos metu gravioris serviti a repetunda libertate terremini*: *capere* for *accipere*, J. 85. 18 *invident honori meo: ergo invideant labori innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi*: *suetus* for *consuetus*, etc. For the gerund used rather in a modal than an instrumental sense, cp. C. 61. 2 *quem quisque vivos pugnando locum ceperat*, J. 28. 7, 51. 5. The Columna Duilli has *Macellam pugnandod cepet*. J. 103. 2 *Bocchus seu reputando...seu admonitus*, where *reputando* =

reputans. (Cp. Tac. A. 13. 47 *trahens—et interpretando.*) Such a use of the gerund belongs rather to every-day than to literary language, and has passed into the Romance languages (Ital. *caminando*=Fr. *chemin faisant*). It is common however in S.'s imitators Fronto, Dares, Dictys (Septimius). Hyginus writes—*ibique vastando iumentorum stabula, tandem concursu pastorum interiit*, and—*at pater Daedalion unicam filiam flendo ab Apolline est conversus in avem.*

nos] Though the sing. *possem* precedes. Cp. J. 17. 7 *uti ex libris Punicis...interpretatum* nobis *est...quam paucissumis* dicam. J. 95. 2 *neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus* dicturi sumus *et L. Sisenna...parum* mihi *libero ore locutus videtur.*

Ch. **8, 1. ex vero**] 'fairly'. Cf. Cic. ad Att. 2. 1. 8 *quid verius quam in iudicium venire qui ob rem iudicandam pecuniam acceperit?*

3. **provenere**] 'to crop up'. Cp. Naevius (apud Cic. Cato M. 6. 20) *proveniebant oratores novi*; Plin. Ep. 1. 13 *magnum proventum poetarum annus hic attulit.*

4. **ita eorum qui fecere**] The *ea* (*fecere*) of the MSS Jordan is certainly right in following Kortte in cutting out. It is clear that a general conclusion is being drawn from the instance of the Athenians. For the omission of an object after *fecere* cp. 3. 1 *et qui fecere et qui facta aliorum scripsere multi laudantur.* The sentiment comes from Cato, if Vopiscus is right when he says—*certum est quod Sallustius Crispus quodque M. Cato et Gellius historici sententiae modo in litteras retulerunt: omnes omnium virtutes tantas esse, quantas videri eas voluerint, qui unius cuiusque facta descripserint.*

eam...potuere] The *ea* of the MSS was first altered by Kortte. It should be *possunt*, not *potuere*, thinks Kritz, if the sentence gave a general conclusion. But why should not S. say that the consideration in which great men are held depends upon what historians *have been* able to say of them?

5. **copia**] Not *supply* of noble writers, but the advantage of having their deeds recorded by such writers.

negotiosus] 'devoted to affairs'. J. 4. 4 (*existumabunt*) *maius commodum ex otio meo quam ex aliorum negotiis rei publicae venturum.*

benefacta] Cato (apud Gell. 16. 1) *bene factum a vobis dum vivitis non abscedet.*

Ch. **9, 1. igitur]** to resume after the digression of the last chapter.

2. **suppliciis]** = *supplicationibus*, an archaic use. In J. 46. 2 it is used for the olive-branch etc. which ambassadors (*caduceatores*) carried when asking for peace. Cic. and Caes. use the word only for 'punishment'.

3. **ubi pax evenerat]** Jacobs says that the words imply 'even towards their former foes', which *in pace* would not. That seems rather fanciful. If the turn is changed for anything but variety, is it not implied, that the Romans of those times made war only to secure peace, and not from lust of conquest?

seque remque publicam] *Que—que*, to connect two words, which is an old-fashioned and poetical use, is often used by S. The first member is always *me* or *se*, except in J. 100. 5 *illoque aliisque temporibus*. Caesar never uses it, Cicero once only (Fin. 1. 16. 51 *easque ipsas sollicitudines, quibus eorum animi 'noctisque diesque' exeduntur* e. q. s.). Livy joins two relative clauses thus. Tacitus has it only twice (A. 2. 3, 16. 6) and in Sallust's manner.

4. **eos, qui]** The instance of T. Manlius Torquatus is referred to in 52. 30.

hostem] The use of a collective singular of concrete substantives is not so common in S. as in Livy and Tacitus. The singular *hostis* is not (it is true) rare, but *hostes* is far more common. Other instances are: *miles* J. 45. 2; *pedes* J. 101. 6. Cp. too J. 6. 1 *leonem atque alias feras...ferire*; J. 17. 5 *ager frugum fertilis, bonus pecori, arbori infecundus*: and for the sake of variety in J. 48. 3 (*mons*) *vestitus oleastro ac murtetis*; J. 57. 4 *glande aut lapidibus pugnare.*

5. **magis]** is omitted here by P, but in no other place. The omission is due possibly to the *ignoscere quam persequi* below. *Magis* is often omitted by Tacitus.

Elsewhere Sallust takes a gloomier view of Roman history—under the influence of Thucydides. He looks on discord as natural to man. Nothing but fear of an enemy gives harmony to the state. The only bright periods in Roman history were the time following the expulsion of the kings, and the interval between the second and third Punic Wars. H. 1. 9 *Nam iniuriae validiorum et ob eas discessio plebei a patribus aliaeque discessiones domi fuere iam inde a principio, neque amplius quam regibus exactis, dum metus a Tarquinio et bellum grave cum Etruria positum est, aequo et modeste iure agitatum*, e. q. s.

Ch. **10, 1. reges...nationes...populi]** the whole world in fact.

Cic. Off. 2. 8. 26 *regum populorum nationum portus erat et refugium senatus. Reges* monarchies, *nationes* an aggregate without definite or common government, *populi* organized communities, of which Carthage was the most notable instance.

patebant] 'were at our disposal'. "The contrary is *clausum esse.* Cp. Cic. de imp. Pomp. 17. 53 *ita clausa nobis erant maria omnia, ut neque privatam rem transmarinam neque publicam iam obire possemus*". Kritz. The verb is used in a rather different sense in 58. 2. Servius on Verg. A. 1. 299 says *nonnulli sane pateant pacatae sint accipiunt, ut Sallustius,* (here).—The construction of *postquam*, first with a perfect or perfects and then with an impf. denoting a situation, does not occur in Cicero and not often elsewhere. It is found again in C. 12. 1; J. 70. 5 *is postquam magnitudine facinoris perculsus ad tempus non venit metusque rem impediebat*; with *ubi* in J. 106. 2 *post ubi castra locata et diei vesper erat.* Tac. A. 11. 37 has *ubi* with perf., then with hist. inf., and lastly an impf. *Quod ubi auditum, et languescere ira, redire amor, ac...propinqua nox et uxorii cubiculi memoria timebantur; prorumpit Narcissus.*

2. **optanda alias**] Selling proposed *optanda* (for *optandae*), and Kritz *alias* (for *aliis*), without being aware of the strong MS authority. The sense is clearly 'things desirable enough under other circumstances'. J. 64. 1 *virtus gloria atque alia optanda bonis. Oneri* refers to *otium, miseriae* to *divitiae.*

3. **primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit**] In favour of the transposition recommended by Nipperdey—*primo imperi, deinde pecuniae*—there is the distinct statement below c. 11 *sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat.* Still in § 4 *avaritia* is taken first, and § 5 *ambitio* second. That might be due to a sort of chiasmus, but in so confused a passage it would be rash to alter.

ea quasi materies...fuere] One would expect either *fuit,* the *ea* being singular and agreeing by attraction with *materies,* or *eae* (which Nipperdey proposed to read) to agree with *cupidines* (the *cupido pecuniae* and the *cupido imperi*). Perhaps however the following instances will sufficiently support the *ea*: 1. 2 (*animi...corporis*) alterum—*alterum.* 3. 3 *audacia largitio avaritia vigebant.* Quae *tametsi animus aspernabatur.* 31. 1 *ex summa laetitia atque lascivia,* quae *diuturna quies pepererat.* J. 41. 1 *earum rerum,* quae *prima mortales ducunt.* C. 51. 42 *virtus atque sapientia maior illis fuit, qui ex parvis opibus tantum* imperium *fecere quam in nobis qui* ea *bene parta vix retinemus.*

5. **fieri subegit**] *Subigo* is not used in Cicero=*cogo*, and

it is rarely followed by the infinitive; cp. Liv. 9. 41. 5 *Tarquiniensem metu subegerat frumentum exercitui praebere.*

6. **contagio quasi pestilentia invasit]** 'the moral infection spread like an epidemic'. Cp. 36. 5 *tanta vis morbi ac veluti tabes plerosque civium* animos *invaserat.* J. 32. 4 *tanta vis avaritiae* in animos *eorum veluti tabes invaserat.* Observe the variety of construction after *invadere.* See note on 2. 5.

Ch. **11,** 1. **animos...exercebat]** 'Left...no rest'. Cp. 9. 2 *discordias...cum hostibus exercebant.* Liv. 39. 40 *simultates plures et exercuerunt eum et ipse exercuit eas.*

propius virtutem] The comparisons of *prope* have various constructions in S. *Propior* with (1) dat. once: *cuius aetati mors propior est.* (2) ab: *quod multo propius est ab eo quo agitat statu.* (3) acc.: *ipse propior montes...suos conlocat. Propius* (adv.) with accusative here. *Proximus* with (1) dat.: *proxumos nostro mari locos.* (2) abl.: *ea loca quae proxuma Carthagine Numidia appellatur.* (3) acc.: *in dextero latere, quod proxumum hostis erat.* (4) as subst. with gen.: *Bocchi proxumos.*

2. **ignavos]** i.e. *ignavus.* So elsewhere *novos, novom, pravom, vivos* (not *nouus,* etc.).

huic quia bonae artes desunt...contendit] Some inferior MSS have *hic,* but *huic* is no doubt right. Kritz quotes Liv. 5. 1. 8 Romanis *etsi quietae res ex Etruria nuntiabantur, tamen ...ita muniebant.* 21. 18. 3 *Romani* (not *Romanis*) *postquam Carthaginem venerunt cum senatus datus esset.* C. 52. 34 *Quibus si quicquam umquam pensi fuisset, non ea consilia de re publica habuissent.*

3. **avaritia pecuniae studium habet]** 'includes' (Cato, ap. Gell. 11. 2 *Auaritiam omnia uitia habere putabant*), or even 'consists in' (Cic. Fin. 1. 13. 42 *gubernatoris ars, quia bene navigandi rationem habet*).

concupivit] Not a gnomic aorist: the sense is 'no one has in the past and therefore will not in the future'. Cp. C. 58. 15 *nemo nisi victor bellum pace mutavit.* C. 51. 2 and 11. J. 42. 4 *quae res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit.* 85. 49 *etenim nemo ignavia inmortalis factus est.* 102. 7 *parentis abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis neque cuiquam omnium satis fuit.* The Greek gnomic aorist however is often imitated by Virgil. G. 1. 49, etc.

venenis malis] *Venenum* is used always by Cicero as a *vox mala*; it is however strictly a *vox media.* Cic. Cluent. 54. 148 (where he is quoting a law) *qui venenum malum fecit.* Gaius says *qui venenum dicit, adicere debet utrum malum an bonum: nam et medicamenta venena sunt.*

corpus...effeminat] Gellius (3. 1) and two friends *hieme iam decedente apud balneas Titias in area sub calido sole* discussed this passage, and especially how it could be said that avarice affected the vigour not only of the mind but of the body. Either S. was exaggerating or the exclusive pursuit of wealth led men to disregard the attention due to the body.

neque copia neque inopia minuitur] One would expect that possession would diminish avarice, but in fact it is diminished as little by possession as by want. So 15. 4 (*animus Catilinae*) *neque vigiliis neque quietibus sedari poterat*, sleep might have been expected to soothe his mind, but sleep could quiet him as little as waking. Kvíčala however objects that if this were the meaning here, '*neque* inopia *neque* copia' would have been written, and he prefers Fabri's way of putting it—that avarice is a vice to which the very rich and the very poor (and consequently all whose position lies between the two extremes) are subject in an equal degree. But the order of the terms surely makes no difference, cp. 20. 7 *nobiles atque ignobiles volgus fuimus*, 'the noble as much as the ignoble'.

4. **bonis initiis]** abl. abs.

5. **ductaverat]** See 18. 8 *patratum*. Tac. H. 2. 100 *exercitui quem ipse ductaverat.*

fidum faceret] *morem—maiorum, luxuriose—liberaliter.* The alliteration is intentional.

habuerat] So again J. 103. 5 *adcurate ac liberaliter habuit*, and with other adverbs and adverbial ablatives often. There is rather too much of *habere* in the chapter; § 3 'includes', § 4 'experienced' and 'showed', § 5 'treated'. The free use of the word, or at least the expression *modestiam habere*, cp. 61. 4 *ferociam quam habuerat vivos;* J. 31. 22 *quantum importunitatis habent;* Or. Lep. 10 *habendus metus est aut faciundus*, belongs rather to conversational than to literary language.

6. **amare potare]** "to indulge in wine and women". Merivale. The phrase is repeated in J. 85. 41 *quin ergo quod iuvat..., id semper faciant; ament potent.*

privatim et publice] 'from private houses and public buildings'. The soldiers did not care whether the property they seized was public or private property. Cp. Cic. Verr. 1. 6. 16 *nemini meus adventus labori aut sumptui neque publice neque privatim fuit.*

7. **nihil reliqui...fecere]** Again in 28. 4; 52. 4; 20. 13 *quid reliqui habemus praeter miseram animam?* (like *nihil pensi habere*). In J. 76. 4 *festinare parare, prorsus ab utrisque nihil relicum fieri*='to leave nothing undone'.

animos fatigant] 'try the principles of'.

ne illi conruptis moribus victoriae temperarent] *ne*=*nedum*, which some MSS and Priscian have. Donatus quotes another instance from Sallust *ne illa tauro paria sint*, which however is probably a gross corruption of the present passage. There are a few instances in the classics—Cic. Ep. 9. 26. 2 *me vero nihil istorum ne iuvenem quidem movit unquam, ne nunc senem.* Liv. 3. 52. 9 *novam inexpertamque eam potestatem eripuere patribus nostris, ne nunc dulcedine semel capti ferant desiderium. Temperarent* is potential of past time—'Much less were they with their corrupt morals to restrain themselves in the hour of victory'. Sauppe however (apud Jacobs-Wirz) supposes an ellipse of *num ergo timendum fuit* or something of that kind, making the sentence bitterly sarcastic—'Little cause for fear then lest these soldiers with their corrupt morals should restrain themselves' etc.—For the construction *victoriae temperarent* cp. Tac. H. 3. 31 *subit recordatio illos esse qui nuper Bedriaci victoriae temperassent* (an imitation of S.). Cicero constructs *temperare* with the dative of the person only=*parco.* Livy has *irae caedibus imperiis* temperare.

Ch. **12, 1. sequebatur**] Singular, not because it agrees only with the nearer nominative (as in 25. 5 *multae facetiae multusque lepos inerat*), but because the three nouns are aspects of one whole. A singular verb is put with—*asperitas et insolentia loci*; *virtus atque sapientia*; *clades atque calamitas* etc. Observe that *que* is not used. *Sequebatur* 'came of their own accord'; the word is very common in this sense in Sallust, and cp. Plin. Ep. 1. 8. 14 *sequi enim gloria non appeti debet.*

innocentia]=*pecuniae abstinentia*, as in J. 46. 1 *Iugurtha ubi quae Metellus agebat ex nuntiis accepit, simul de innocentia eius certior Roma factus*; and *innocens* in C. 54. 6 *cum innocente abstinentia certabat.*

2. **pudorem pudicitiam**] '*Pudor* est animi, *pudicitia* corporis castitas' Kritz. Cp. Cic. in Cat. 2. 11. 25 *ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia: hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum.*—*Promiscua habere* goes also with *pudorem pud.*—*divina atque humana p. habere* does not mean 'they made no distinction between the things of god and men', but 'they cared for nothing in heaven or earth'; cp. J. 31. 9 *divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt*, and often.—*Promiscua* means no more than *vilia*; cp. Tac. G. 5 *numerus argenteorum facilior usui est promiscua ac vilia mercantibus.*

3. **cum...cognoveris...visere**] *Cum* with the future dependent on an infinitive occurs once or twice again in the Catiline, but not elsewhere in Sallust. Indeed according to Dräger (2. 554) only once in other writers—Cic. Verr. 5. 71. 183 *mihi optatum illud est, in hoc reo finem accusandi facere, cum et populo R. satisfactum et receptum officium Siculis erit persolutum.* The other instances in the C. are 51. 24 *qui convenit in minore negotio legem timere cum eam in maiore neglegeris?* 52. 17 *statuetis—decernere*, 58. 16 *nam in fuga salutem sperare, cum arma...ab hostibus avorteris, ea vero dementia est.* The two verbs are always to be understood as contemporaneous, says Dräger; but that is clearly not so in the present passage.

5. **iniuriam facere id demum**] For the pleonastic pronoun cp. Cic. Fin. 5. 8. 23 *ista anima tranquillitas ea est ipsa beata vita*, on which Madvig notes *abundantia pronominis non vitiosa, quo cottidiani sermonis more gravius insignitur ea notio, quae in substantivo inest et ab aliis separatur.* Cato writes *cancer ater, is olet*, and *amicos domini, eos habeat sibi amicos.* Plautus has *pater tuus, is erat frater patruelis meus.* S. is very fond of this turn, and the pronoun is with him generally followed by *demum* or *vero.* C. 20. 4 *idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.* C. 37. 4 *sed urbana plebes, ea vero praeceps ierat multis de causis.* C. 8. 3 *quia...ea res.* C. 58. 16 *nam in fuga salutem sperare...ea vero dementia est.* J. 63. 7 *novos nemo tam clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore...haberetur.* J. 85. 35 *namque cum tu te per mollitiam agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est dominum non imperatorem esse.* For other forms of a similar pleonasm see C. 61. 1 *tum vero*, J. 58. 3 *sin Numidae propius adcessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere*, and the constantly occurring *quia...eo* and *tametsi... tamen.*

Ch. **13**, 1. **subvorsos montis, maria constrata esse**] Cp. 20. 11 *divitias...quas profundant in extruendo mari et montibus coaequandis.* Jerome seems to be imitating Sall. when he says: *Xerxes rex potentissimus qui subvertit montes, maria constravit.* It is objected however to the reading *constrata* that *consternere* means to bridge over and not—what the *extruendo mari* shows to be the meaning here—to extend the land *molibus iniectis.* Does that matter? The point is rather that the unnatural luxury of the times makes it possible to tread on what should still be sea, no matter how. Klimscha maintains that *constructa* would give the required sense, *construere* or *extruere acervum rogum sepulcrum* being almost synonymous. But is *construere* used, as *extruere* is, for piling up (say) the hearth with logs, Hor. Epod. 2. 43? And beyond that *maria*

constructa would be very ambiguous, for it is far more natural to understand it, as all other commentators do who prefer this reading, of the *piscinae.* (Val. Max. 9. 1. 1 *videlicet ne gulam Neptuni arbitrio subiectam haberet peculiaria sibi maria excogitavit.*) Against that interpretation one must appeal to the MS authority and the parallel expression in 20. 11, though it must be admitted that the plural here *maria* and the constant reference in Latin authors to these fish-pond abominations gives some colour to the explanation. The reading *contracta* which Dietsch (1859) has is probably a reminiscence of Hor. Od. 3. 1. 33. *Montibus coaequandis* does not surely, as Kvíčala supposes, refer to filling up valleys, but like *subvorsos montis* alludes not without exaggeration to such works as those of Lucullus, Vell. 2. 33 *quem (Lucullum) ob iniectas molis mari et receptum suffossis montibus in terras mare haud infacete Magnus Pompeius Xerxem togatum vocare adsueverat.* Varro de re rust. 3. 17 *posteaquam perfodisset montem.*

2. **honeste...per turpitudinem**] *Per* with an abstract noun, as equivalent to an ablative of manner or adverb, is a very favourite construction of Sallust's. C. 42. 2 *inconsulte ac veluti per dementiam.* J. 7. 1 *neque per vim neque insidiis.* J. 4. 7 *furtim et per latrocinia magis quam bonis artibus.*

3. **cultus**] Perhaps the word is nowhere used in so bad a sense as here. Liv. 29. 21 *de cultu ac desidia imperatoris.*

terra marique e. q. s.] Gellius 6 (7). 16. 5 gives a list from a satirical poem of Varro's—peacock from Samos, heath-cock from Phrygia, crane from Media, kid from Ambracia, young tunny-fish from Chalcedon, *murena* from Tartessus, cod (?) from Pessinus, oysters from Tarentum, scallop from Chios (?) sturgeon (?) from Rhodes, *scarus* from Cilicia, nuts from Thasos, dates from Egypt, chestnuts (?) from Spain. Schmalz quotes from somewhere—*intra hos dies scripsit, ut ex India semen boletorum mitteretur.* Seneca Ep. 89 *nullis animalibus nisi ex fastidio pax est.*

luxu antecapere] *hunger:* Seneca says *vomunt ut edant, edunt ut vomant, et epulas, quas toto orbe conquirunt nec concoquere dignantur: thirst* by producing perspiration; *cold* and *exhaustion* by excessive use of the baths, the *tepidaria, caldaria* and so forth.

5. **eo profusius**] Gründel separates the words, 'because they had got to be unable to restrain their appetites, they sought and spent money more recklessly than before when they had not yet exhausted their means'. That I think is to be preferred to the explanation—*quo minus animus malis artibus carebat, eo profusius.* See note on 1. 3.

Ch. **14, 1. flagitiorum...catervas**] As *caterva* is used only once of things (Gell. 15. 2 *vili et incondita verborum caterva*) it has been proposed to read *stipationem* for *stipatorum*, and by others to adopt the reading of inferior MSS, *flagitiosorum atque facinorosorum*—unnecessarily. *Flagitium* is used (like *scelus*) for a 'scoundrel' by Plautus, and Cicero has Rosc. Am. 46. 134 *deversorium flagitiorum omnium.* Verr. 5. 1. 4 *flagitiorum omnium vitiorumque princeps.*

4. **a culpa vacuus**] with gen. J. 90. 1 *ager aridus et frugum vacuus.*

par similisque] Jacobs-Wirz (quoting Quint. 10. 1. 102 *mihi egregie dixisse videtur Servilius Nonianus* '*pares eos* (Sallust and Livy) *magis quam similes*') explains 'alike in degree and kind': Kritz (quoting Cic. Legg. 1. 10. 29 *nihil est enim unum uni tam simile tam par quam omnes inter nosmet ipsos sumus*) explains better 'equal or at least like'. For that use of *que* cp. 8. 1 *celebrat obscuratque.* Liv. 9. 27. 14 *caedi capique Samnites*, and a few lines further on *ad triginta milia caesa* aut *capta Samnitium proditum memoriae est.*

5. **molles et fluxi**] Surely W. Wagner is quite right in protesting against Jordan's cutting out (*molles*) *etiam.* It means 'still' as in § 4 and 61. 4 *Catilina...longe a suis...repertus est, paululum etiam spirans.* That is a conversational use of the word common enough in Plautus and Terence, and not unknown to Cicero.

6. **neque sumptui neque modestiae suae parcere**] So 52. 33 *parcite dignitati Lentuli, si ipse pudicitiae, si famae suae ...pepercit.* 'He spared no sacrifice of money or of honour'. Madvig thinks the correction *molestiae* self-evident. "*Modestiae neglectus ad ea quae hic commemorantur nihil pertinet, neque cum 'sumptui' qui fieret aut subiretur, recte 'modestiae' sed 'immodestiae' quae non fugeretur componenda erat*". Is not *modestiae* however sufficiently justified by the parallel passage quoted?

dum...faceret] *Dummodo* is never used by S.

Ch. **15, 1. iam primum adulescens**] Not 'at the very outset of his youth', but 'to begin then, as a youth'.

nefanda] Cic. would write *multa et nefanda.* The *nefanda* perhaps is to go closely with *stupra*, but cp. J. 30. 3 *multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis.*

cum virgine nobili] The name is never given.

cum sacerdote Vestae] Asconius (explaining an allusion in the Or. in tog. cand.) says p. 82, 6 *Fabia virgo Vestalis causam incesti dixerat, cum ei Catilina obiceretur, eratque absoluta. Haec Fabia quia soror erat Terentiae Ciceronis, ideo sic dixit: etiam si culpa nulla subesset.*

2. **quod ea nubere illi dubitabat**] The inf. after *dubito* (to have scruples about) in an *affirmative* sentence is rare. There are but two instances in Cic. apparently, N. D. 1. 40. 113 *Accusat Timocratem Metrodorus, quod dubitet omnia, quae ad beatam vitam pertineant, ventre metiri.* Att. 10. 3a *homines ridiculos! qui cum filios misissent ad Cn. Pompeium circumsedendum, ipsi in senatum venire dubitarint.* S. constructs a number of verbs besides with an object-infinitive which are generally found with another construction:—*ardere* J. 39. 5, *cavere* J. 64. 2, *coniurare* C. 52. 24, *eniti, imperare, intendere* J. 92. 6, *postulare* J. 17. 1 and others.

adulta aetate] Schmalz proposes to read *adultum aetate.* Either construction however is found. Cic. Verr. 3. 68. 160 *qui in epulis cotidianis adulta aetate per triennium inter impudicas mulieres...versatus sit.* Suet. Aug. 69 *matres familias et adultas aetate virgines.* There is no reason then to alter *adulta.*

pro certo creditur necato filio vacuam domum scelestis nuptiis fecisse] The expression is supposed by some authorities to come from Cic. in Cat. 1. 6. 14 *nuper cum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti?* The phrase is however probably a stereotyped one. Cp. Liv. 1. 46. 9 *cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent.* That Sall. had the Ciceronian sentence in his mind at all is not likely. For firstly, S. leaves out the charge of wife-murder; and secondly, he gives the crime a different date. *Nuper* in Cic. can hardly mean a year and more ago, and if the crime had been committed before July, 690(64), we should in all probability have heard of it in the Or. in tog. cand. and in Asconius' notes where other such crimes are mentioned (p. 82).

4. **infestus**] Kritz takes the word passively here, i. e. 'hated by', and not 'hostile to'; but it is used very often by S. and always actively. Even in J. 89. 5 (*loca infesta serpentibus*) it is probably active (=*loca per serpentes hominibus infesta*).

neque vigiliis neque quietibus] 'by sleep no more than by waking', 'as little by night as by day'. See 11. 3. The Pseudo-Sall. (Ep. ad Caes. 12. 6) imitates thus: *neque tibi nox neque dies curam animi sedaverit.*

5. **colos**] The word occurs only here in the nom. sing., and *odor* only in J. 44. 4. In both places the old MSS have without exception *color* and *odor*, but Probus quotes this passage with *colos*, and Fronto the other with *odos*. As to *labor*, Servius (on Verg. A. 1. 253) says that S. writes *labos* '*paene ubique*'. It occurs four times; twice not in speeches C. 7. 5; J. 100, 3, where no old MS gives *labos*, twice in two speeches from the Hist. or. Cott. 1; Mac. 18, where V, the only MS that has them, gives *labos*. Jordan (K. B. 144) thinks therefore that with regard to this word at any rate it was only in speeches that S. indulged in this old form. *Lepos*—the common form in Cicero—occurs C. 25. 5, and *honos* C. 20. 8; J. 3. 1.

foedi oculi] Donatus and Servius quote this for *foedum* =*crudele*. It is rather 'glassy' or 'bloodshot'.

citus modo, e. q. s.] Cic. de Off. 1. 131 *cavendum est ne aut tarditatibus utamur in ingressu mollioribus, ut pomparum ferculis similes esse videamur, aut in festinationibus suscipiamus nimias celeritates, quae cum fiunt, anhelitus moventur, vultus mutantur, ora torquentur: ex quibus magna significatio fit non adesse constantiam.*

in facie.. inerat] *Inesse* is used by S. elsewhere with the dative: it is possible therefore that *ei* (above) is here the object.

Ch. **16**, 2. **ex illis**] Referring *per synesin* to *iuventutem*: cp. J. 28. 2 *senatus consultus est...eique decrevere.* J. 14. 6 *familia nostra ... quorum.* J. 102. 6 *populo Romano ... melius visum amicos quam servos quaerere, tutiusque rati volentibus quam coactis imperitare.*

habere] rather awkwardly depends on *imperabat*. *Imperare* takes the infinitive, as well as *ut*, in S. J. 47. 2 *imperavit frumentum et alia quae bello usui forent conportare.*

3. **insontis sicuti sontis**] *sicuti*='as if they were', rather than 'no less than'.

gratuito] 'for nothing', i.e. without any prospect of gain. Kvícala suggests that it means οὐδὲν προπαθών. Cp. Sen. Ep. 105. 3 *odium autem ex offensa sic vitabis neminem lacessendo gratuito* (if that be the right reading).

4. **tutae tranquillaeque res omnes, sed ea**] The *ea* of course refers to *res*, see note on 10. 3, *ea*. One might have thought that a time of calm would not have suited the stormbird Catiline, but on the other hand he saw there precisely his opportunity.

Ch. **17, 1. L. Caesare et C. Figulo consulibus]** It seems to have been the rule, at least until Livy, to omit the copula unless the consuls are given only one name each. Then *et* (Cic. Cato M. 4. 10 *Tuditano et Cethego*) or more rarely *que* (id. 14. 50 *Centone Tuditanoque*) is employed. S. however offers another exception in C. 38. 1 *Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus*— L. Julius Caesar and C. Marcius Figulus were consuls in 690 (64). Caesar was brother to Julia, who married first M. Antonius Creticus (to whom she bore Antonius the triumvir), and afterwards the conspirator Lentulus.

appellare] *Notandum est hoc unicum exemplum ubi cum infinitivo historico coniungitur certum temporis momentum*— (h. e. *circiter Kalendas Iunias*). Constans.

inparatam rem publicam] An attribute is often used by S. for a substantive, for the sake of variety: cp. J. 31. 1 *multa me dehortantur...opes factionis, vostra patientia*, ius nullum, *ac maxume quod* e. q. s.: J. 91. 5 *res trepidae, metus ingens*, malum inprovisum, *ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate coegere uti deditionem facerent.* Or. Lep. 17 *proscriptionem innoxiorum ob divitias, cruciatus virorum inlustrium*, vastam urbem *fuga et caedibus*: etc. See note on 48. 4 *deprehensi.*

2. **ubi satis explorata sunt quae voluit]** *Explorata* may be an adjective, but it is more likely that *voluit* is an aorist-perfect for pluperfect: cp. J. 70. 1 *per idem tempus Bomilcar, cuius inpulsu Iugurtha deditionem, quam metu* deseruit, *inceperat* e.q.s.

necessitudo] =*necessitas* in S. very often. It occurs only once in the ordinary sense: J. 80. 6 *Iugurthae filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur. Necessitas* is not used in the Catiline or Jugurtha: on the other hand *necessitudo* does not occur in the Histories, but *necessitas* in the ordinary sense does twice—in speeches. Gellius (13. 3) says: *In libris ueterum uulgo repperias* 'necessitudinem' *dici pro eo quod necessum est. Necessitas=necessitudo* is found rarely in Cic. and Caes. The distinction however seems to have been fairly established in Sallust's time, but he, as is not unusual, adheres to the old fashion in his earlier works, though he conforms to the accepted use in his later Histories. S. also uses *claritudo* for Cicero's *claritas*, and Cicero himself has *sanctitudo* for *sanctitas* in Rep. 4. 8.

3. **P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura]** Praetor 679 (75), Consul 683 (71): turned out of Senate next year: Praetor again 691

(63). Cic. in Cat. 3. 5. 11 speaks of his *dicendi exercitatio.* Brut. 66. 235 *P. Lentulus, cuius et excogitandi et loquendi tarditatem tegebat formae dignitas, corporis motus plenus et artis et venustatis, vocis et suavitas et magnitudo.* Cic. in Cat. 3. 7. 16 *Lentuli somnum.*

P. Autronius Paetus] 47. 1; 48. 7: school friend of Cicero and quaestor with him. Cic. p. Sulla 25. 71 *semper audax, petulans, libidinosus; quem in stuprorum defensionibus non solum verbis uti improbissimis solitum esse scimus, verum etiam pugnis et calcibus* e. q. s. Cic. Brut. 68. 241 *P. Autronius voce peracuta atque magna.*

Cassius] 44. Praetor with Cic. 688 (66) and candidate with him for consulship. Cic. in Cat. 3. 7. 16 *L. Cassii adipes.* Asconius in tog. cand. p. 73 says *Cassius quamvis stolidus tum magis quam improbus videretur, post paucos menses in coniuratione Catilinae esse eum apparuit ac cruentissimarum sententiarum fuisse auctorem.*

C. Cornelius Cethegus] 32. 2, 55. 6, 43: Cic. in Cat. 3. 7. 16 *Cethegi furiosam temeritatem:* p. Sulla 25. 70 *Quis de C. Cethego atque eius in Hispaniam profectione ac de volnere Q. Metelli Pii cogitat e. q. s.?*

Sullae] 47. 1. Cic. p. Sulla 2. 6 *Quis nostrum Servium Sullam, quis Publium...defendendum putavit?* Their father Servius was brother of the Dictator. The P. Cornelius Sulla whom Cic. defended was probably a more distant relation, Cic. de off. 2. 8. 29.—To put the name common to the two in the plural is also Cicero's practice. S. has also J. 42. 1 *Ti. et C. Gracchus.* Livy usually writes e.g. 10. 1. 7 *Marcio Livio Dentre et Aemilio.*

Vargunteius] 28. 1. Cic. p. Sulla 2. 6 *Quis nostrum adfuit Vargunteio? Nemo: ne hic quidem Q. Hortensius, praesertim qui illum solus antea de ambitu defendisset.*

Q. Annius] 50. 4. His other name was Chilo, if *Q. Annium Chilonem* be, as is probable, the right reading in Cic. in Cat. 3. 6. 14.

M. Porcius Laeca] 27. 3.

L. Calpurnius Bestia] 43. 1.

Q. Curius] chh. 23. 26. 28.

4. **M. Fulvius Nobilior**] This is the only person who is not mentioned in the sequel as taking part in the performances of the conspiracy. Nor is he mentioned in any other author. Wirz therefore suspects that the name has got into the text

from a corrupted gloss '*A. Fulvius nobilis*' taken from 39. 5. The *Fulvii Nobiliores* were of senatorian rank.

L. Statilius] 43. 2, 55. 6.

P. Gabinius] 40. 6, 55. 6. Not Capito but Cimber acc. to Cic. in Cat. 3. 3. 6.

C. Cornelius] 28. 1.

domi nobiles] A fixed phrase to denote a man who is a magnate in a provincial town, but a nobody at Rome. Liv. 8. 19. 4 *vir non domi solum sed etiam Romae clarus.*

6. **iuventus pleraque**] Cic. uses only the plural of the adj. S. also uses freely parts of the singular of *ceteri* (which are rare in Cic.)—*cetera multitudo, ceteri cultus, ceterum exercitum* (Cato has the same collocation), *ceteram planitiem, cetera pluviā.*—Cicero says p. Cael. 4. 10 *multi boni adulescentes illi homini nequam atque improbo studuerunt.*

vivere copia] for the classical *vivendi.*

incerta...malebant] *Malle* with acc. is a rare constr. Is Tac. H. 2. 86 imitating?—*pro certis et olim partis nova ambigua ancipitia malebat.* The variety is noticeable.

Ch. **18**, 1. **in quis**] Jordan reads *quis* for *quibus* on the authority of the grammarian Diomedes, who says *est et secunda anaphora, per quam elocutio non convenienter respondens ad aliud refertur occulte, ut est apud Sallustium: sed...pauci, in quis Catilina fuit, de qua quam brevissime potero dicam.* But D. is not always accurate in his quotations from Sallust, and here he writes *brevissime* wrongly: so that it is hardly safe to trust him, at any rate when the *quis* is not what he quotes for. And not only that, but there is no other instance of *quis* in the Catiline. In the Jugurtha however there are fourteen (in J. 18. 3 *quisque* for *quibusque*?), though for some reason or other chh. 29—65 are without it, and there are nine in the Histories. It is clear then that *quibus* is the true reading here. The contraction was perhaps a conversationalism; Cicero at any rate uses it only in his Letters, and Horace only in the Satires and Epistles.

2. **de qua**] i.e. *coniuratione*, from *coniuraverunt.* An exactly similar example is not to be found, but cp. Cic. Ep. 2. 3. 1 *equidem quid sentiam aut scribam ad te pluribus postea, aut, ne ad* eam *meditere, inparatum te offendam* (where *sententiam* has to be supplied from *sentiam*). Cic. pro Mur. 13. 29 *vestra responsa atque decreta et evertuntur saepe dicendo et sine defensione oratoris firma esse non possunt: in* qua *si satis*

profecissem, parcius de eius laude dicerem. Cic. de Orat. 2. 2. 5 *etenim ceterae fere artes se ipsae per se tuentur singulae; bene dicere autem...non habet definitam aliquam religionem, cuius terminis* saepta *teneatur.*

3. A new election was rendered necessary by the conviction of Autronius and Sulla, and it is for this second election for which S. makes Catiline anxious to stand. But Asconius (p. 79) seems to represent that it was the first. Mommsen however (Röm. Staatsrecht 1². 485. n.) thinks that Catiline did not return to Rome in time for either of these elections (Cic. p. Cael. 4. 10 *fuit Caelius adsiduus mecum praetore me; non noverat Catilinam: Africam tum praetor ille obtinebat*), and that it was the election of next year from which the resolution of Tullus (not to admit Catiline till the trial was over) was designed to exclude him. That cannot be the meaning I think either of Sallust's words or of Asconius' certainly rather confused account—*Paullo ante diximus Catilinam cum de provincia Africa decederet petiturus consulatum et legati Afri questi essent de eo in senatu, graviter vituperatum esse. Professus deinde est Catilina petere se consulatum. L. Volcacius Tullus consul consilium publicum habuit, an rationem Catilinae habere deberet, si peteret consulatum: nam quaerebatur repetundarum. Catilina ob eam causam destitit a petitione.* On a matter of fact Asconius is a more trusty authority than Sallust, and perhaps the *post* here is a slip for *ante.*

quod intra legitumos dies profiteri nequiverit] *Nequiverit* is abandoned by all modern editors. Jordan refers to Mommsen R. S., but in his second edition 1. 485. n. he declares it to be indefensible. Neither the mood nor the tense admits of explanation. *Nequiverat* should be read; such mistakes are frequent in P. 58. 4 *nequiveram* for *-im*, J. 39. 1 *fuerint* for *-ant* etc.—sometimes corrected, sometimes not. The *legitumi dies* are the *trinundinum* (Cic. Ep. 16. 12. 3 as to Caesar's candidature for the consulship in 705, *ad consulatus petitionem se venturum, neque se iam velle absente se rationem haberi suam; se praesentem trinum nundinum petiturum*), or interval of 17 days between the announcement of the day of holding the consular *comitia* and that day itself. In early times a name might be given in up to the very day of the *comitia;* in later times it was necessary for a name to be given in before the *trinundinum.* It is questionable whether this reform had come into force at this time. Probably not, for it would be a forced translation of *intra l. dies* 'before the beginning of the days during which it is no longer legal to offer a name' (the phrase *intra Kalendas = ante Kalendas* includes the Kalends themselves 'before or on'. Gell. 12. 13).

As to what were the rights of the consul in refusing an intending candidate's name authorities are divided. Lange maintains that an impending criminal prosecution in itself debarred a candidate. Mommsen is of opinion that the matter was entirely in the discretion of the consul, though that Tullus' refusal on this occasion was a rather unusual, if not high-handed proceeding. Perhaps however Dr John's middle position is nearer the truth—that if the prosecution had got so far as the *sortitio iudicum* a man was necessarily excluded. In the case of Scaurus the prosecution do not avail themselves of an interval of 30 days allowed them to collect evidence in Sardinia, so that the trial may get on far enough to prevent Scaurus standing for the consulship (Ascon. Arg. of Cic.'s speech). The same with the case of Clodius and Milo: the aim was that Cic. ad Q. f. 2. 1. 2 *sortitione iudicum facta comitia haberentur.*

It is very doubtful whether S. is right in representing the plot to have been to make Catiline one of the consuls, instead of Sulla. In his defence of Sulla, Cicero of course declares that it was Catiline who was to be consul; but it is curious that in the copious list of Catiline's offences in the Or. in tog. cand. and in Asconius' comments nothing is said of such an attempt on Catiline's part, though the projected slaughter of the senate is mentioned. Other authorities too—Livy's Epitomator, Suetonius, Cassius Dio—make the plot to have been to restore the unseated consuls by force. Catiline's part in this first conspiracy was probably a very subordinate one, and its real directors Crassus and Caesar. Even Sallust seems to disconnect this plot with Catiline's true conspiracy in the parenthetical way in which he introduces his notice of it. (What evidence there is will be found Cic. p. Sull. 24. 67, Liv. Ep. 101, Suet. Jul. 8.)

6. **ea re cognita**] 'as the plot got to be known'. The logical subject of the abl. abs. is not here, as it should be, the subject of the sentence. Cp. J. 10. 1 *parvom ego, Iugurtha, te amisso patre sine spe sine opibus in regnum meum accepi* (where the father is of course not Masinissa's).—As to the meaning, Dietsch holds that as the text stands Sallust's account is absurd. Is it conceivable, he asks, that no public action should have been taken, and the conspirators have had only to postpone the execution for a month? Cassius Dio 36. 27 says that the new consuls being warned of some danger provided themselves with a guard, and that that prevented the execution of the design. Probably S. said the same, but it has dropped out. He marks a lacuna therefore before *ea re,* and the filling up would be—'the consuls, warned of some danger determined to provide themselves with an armed escort'. But

if Sallust's narration is to be cleared of all improbabilities, where are we to stop?

transtulerant] The pluperfect for the aorist-perfect. This use is more common in S. than perhaps in any other author, cp. C. 24. 2, 36. 5, 50. 4, 56. 2, J. 57. 6, 64. 4, 72. 1, 73. 3 and 4, 88. 3. The reference to the time before which the action happened is left to be supplied by the reader from what follows. These pluperfects were perhaps in Seneca's mind when he spoke of Sallust's *verba ante expectatum cadentia et obscura brevitas.* In the present instance S. is thinking already of the second projected attempt. (For Livy, where the use is not uncommon, see Kühnast, p. 213: it is common too in Curtius.)

7. **iam tum**] *Then* on 5th Feb. their designs embraced both senators and consuls, while *before*—on 1 Jan.—they were content with the consuls. Herzog explains—'then already, as on other occasions afterwards'.

8. **patratum**] The word is a favourite of Sallust's, but is eschewed by Caesar, Suetonius and Pliny. Cicero has it only twice: ad Att. 1. 14. 7 *Teucris promissa patravit,* and from an old law in Legg. 2. 8. 19 *feriis iurgia ne movento easque in famulis operibus patratis habento.* In Sallust's time it had probably sunk into being a slang, if not a coarse word, only (Quint. 8. 3. 44 on *κακέμφατα—ductare exercitus et patrare bella apud Sallustium dicta sancte et antique, ridentibus si dis placet*). S. however revived it, and Livy and Tacitus follow his lead.

Ch. **19**, 2. **et**] explicative—'many respectable people thought Piso would prove a counterpoise against the power of Pompey, for Pompey's power was already alarming'.

3. **in provincia**] The *in provinciam* of P certainly will not do. The order of words and the context show that S. cannot have meant *in provinciam...iter faciens*, and no other explanation of the reading is admissible. Cassius Dio 36. 27 (*ἡ γερουσία*) *εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ ἐπ' ἀρχήν τινα, ἔπεμψε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀδικήσας τι αὐτούς, ἐσφάγη.* Asconius, p. 83, *ibi (in Hispania), dum iniurias provincialibus facit, occisus erat, ut quidam credebant, a Cn. Pompeii clientibus Pompeio non invito.*

in exercitu] Dietsch adopts *sine exercitu* the reading of a Munich MS—the best of the second class. Surely, he remarks, S. meant to give the reason of their having an opportunity.

5. **veteres]** only from the time of the Sertorian war.

voluntate eius] Pompeius was in the far East, and his approval cannot well have been given till after the assassination.

numquam Hispanos praeterea] but L. Piso Frugi, propraetor, was killed in Spain. Cic. in Verr. 4. 25. 56.

Ch. **20,** 1. **tametsi—tamen]** see note on 12. 5. *Tametsi—tamen* is common in the Catiline, and in the earlier part of the Jugurtha, but from J. 38. 9 through the rest of that work and in the Histories it does not occur. It is first common in Cornificius (abt B.C. 86). In Cicero it appears less and less, not once for instance in the invectives against Catiline. In his writings between the years 63—43 *quamquam—tamen* (which is also Sallust's chief substitute), and *etsi* (*etiamsi*)—*tamen* prevail.

secessit] P has *secedit*, which there seems no sufficient reason for rejecting. S. often passes from the historical present to the perfect, and vice versâ: cp. J. 76. 6 *ibi vino et epulis onerati illaque et domum et semet igni* conrumpunt *et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes* pependere. J. 21. 3 *igitur Iugurtha oppidum* circumsedit, *vineis turribusque...expugnare* aggreditur. J. 64. 3 *postquam haec atque alia talia* dixit *neque animus Mari* flectitur, respondit. J. 91. 3 *castris* egreditur *noctemque totam itinere facto* consedit: and other instances, all, it is true, from the Jugurtha. (See however C. 21. 5, 45. 3.)

arbitris...amotis] *arbiter* ('one who is present'), like βραβεύς, means both 'witness' and 'judge'. *Remotis arbitris* is the usual phrase.

2. **virtus fidesque...spectata forent]** If the predicate belongs to more than one feminine substantive, it is sometimes neuter plural in S.: cp. J. 68. 1 *deinde ubi ira et aegritudo permixta sunt.* J. 38. 8 *nox atque praeda castrorum hostis, quo minus victoria uterentur, remorata sunt.* J. 52. 4 *plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara* ('the enemy's ignorance of the district') *tutata sunt.* (This construction is not found in Caesar, and is, I believe, rare in Cicero.) In the following instances however the predicate is feminine plural: J. 70. 2 *ex quo illi gloria opesque inventae.* J. 73. 6 *quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant.* J. 114. 4 *spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae*—because perhaps one of the substantives in each pair is plural and concrete. In one place, C. 51. 12 *fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt* (if that be the right reading), we have an exception. The relative pronoun also when it refers to two feminine singular abstract substantives

is neuter plural: C. 3. 4, 5. 7, J. 41. 3 *sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet ea, quae res secundae amant, lascivia atque superbia incessere.*

dominatio in manibus] Schmalz compares Asinius Pollio (Cic. Ep. 10. 31. 3), *quam iucunda libertas et quam misera sub dominatione vita esset*, i.e. *quae sub dominatione est vita.* The joining of two substantives by prepositions (except *cum* and *sine*) is rare in classical and dignified Latin. 'The great hopes we have, nay the power we grasp'. *d. i. m.* is not a mere explanation of *spes magna*, but a correction and addition; hence the plural *fuissent.*

3. **per ignaviam**, etc.] i.e. *per ignavos aut vanos homines. ignaviam* in reference to *virtus*, *vana ing.* to *fides* (*virtus fidesque vostra*).

multis et magnis tempestatibus] 'many great occasions'. *multa nefanda stupra* 15. 1, without *et*, because *nefanda stupra* are taken to represent one idea.

facinus incipere] *incipere* with a subst. in acc. is rare in prose. Cicero gives it only a neuter pronoun for object, not a subst.

6. **ceterum.** The connexion is—So I need not repeat, but I should wish to add. In 17. 6 it means 'not only so, but'. The adv. is not often used in the Catiline, but is very common in the Jugurtha, to mean 'but' adversative—a sense in which the word is not used in Cic. and Caes.

nosmet ipsi] 'unless we assert our liberty *ourselves*'. This is one of the few places where we owe the true reading to V, for the *ipsos* of P is not only not what the sense requires, but contrary to Sallust's usage in the matter. When the personal pronoun is strengthened by *-met* it is Cicero's rule to put *ipse* in the same case: e.g. T. D. 2. 21. 47 *praecipitur ut nobismet ipsis imperemus.* Sallust however puts the *ipse* (it is sometimes omitted: C. 44. 2, J. 4. 2 *ne...quis existumet memet studium meum laudando extollere*) in the nominative: C. 23. 2 *suamet ipse scelera occultare*, J. 18. 7 *semet ipsi Nomadas appellavere*, 41. 9 *semet ipsa praecipitavit.* Nor without *-met* is *ipse* put in the same case as the reflexive pronoun: J. 58. 6 (*cum*) *alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes officerent.*

7. **strenui boni nobiles atque ignobiles]** 'All the rest of us, though we are ready for work and well disposed, the man of family as much as the man of no family'. Jordan however has doubts whether the reading of P in this case is satisfactory. Should there not be the same sort of contrast in the

first member as in the second? Perhaps then Aurelius Victor gives us what S. wrote in his phrase '*immissique in imperium promiscue boni malique nobiles atque ignobiles*' (cp. J. 67. 2 *iuxta boni malique strenui et inbelles*), though P may be right in leaving out the *que* (cp. C. 51. 9 *armis cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu*). The *strenui* then will be an old gloss to *boni*. In this instance however must not P be defended against its champion? Would S. make Catiline admit in his impassioned address that any of his party were *mali?*

fuimus] 'have become'.

8. **pericula repulsas**] *egestatem* obviously answers to *divitiae*, and perhaps *repulsas* to *honos*, but the words are not chosen or arranged to correspond precisely. *Pericula* in the sense of 'criminal charges' is common.

9. **quae quousque tandem**] cp. Cic. in Cat. 1 (*ad init.*) *Quousque tandem abutere Catilina patientia nostra?*

inhonestam] i. e. *non honestatam honore*, 35. 3.

in manu vobis] cp. J. 14. 13 *nos uti per otium tuti simus in vostra manu est.* J. 31. 5 *id frustra an ob rem faciam in vostra manu situm est*: so here 'to gain the victory depends on you'. Jordan doubts whether the reading of the inferior MSS *in manibus* be not the true one, and indeed the sense required is rather 'victory is within our grasp'. S. is fond of repeating a phrase that occurs to him: cp. *dominatio in manibus* above. *In manu* is used for 'to have at one's disposal', 51. 36: 'to be able to control', J. 14. 4: and *in manibus* in a more literal sense in J. 73. 6 *opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant.*

10. **viget aetas, animus valet**] Cic. Mil. 31. 85 *vestrae religiones viguerunt, vestra vis valuit.* Catiline's followers have the lusty bodily vigour of youth, and are in full possession of their mental powers. J. 11. 5 *confectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse.*

divitiis] the luxuries which wealth supplies serve but to debilitate the strength.

consenuerunt] with S. *-ere* is the rule, *-erunt* the exception. In the Catiline there are only four instances of the longer form: *dixerunt* 51. 9, *sumpserunt* 51. 38, *venerunt* 45. 3. The form in *-erunt* is however the accepted literary form. The shorter conversational *-ere* is less common even in Plautus and Terence than the other, and is extremely rare in Cicero (see Or. 47. 157 *nec vero reprehenderim: scripsere alii rem; 'scripserunt' esse verius sentio, sed consuetudini auribus indulgenti libenter obsequor*) and Caesar. The only writer with

whom the form *-ere* predominates is Cato (it is about thrice as common as the other form) and from him no doubt S. borrowed it. Livy afterwards uses it often, but mainly (acc. to Wölfflin) where he wishes to give peculiar elevation to his style. Tacitus also uses it freely.

11. **etenim**] 'And besides'. J. 85. 49. *'Etenim' utimur non tam cum proxima confirmamus, quam cum in universa argumentatione progredimur, ut saepe fere idem sit ac 'porro' 'praeterea'.* Madvig.

12. **cum—emunt**] 'with all their buying of'.—*cum* has almost a concessive sense.

toreumata] cp. 11. 6, 'works in rilievo'—a Greek word in scorn.

emunt—aedificant] So Nepos says in praise of Atticus 13. 1 *cum esset pecuniosus nemo illo fuit minus emax minus aedificator.*

trahunt vexant—vincere] They treat their wealth as a foe to be vanquished. Deltour compares the French 'bourreau d'argent', 'tourmenter sa fortune'. The phrase *divitias vincere* is used in a different sense in J. 63. 2 *domi modicus, lubidinis et divitiarum victor.*

16. **vel imperatore e. q. s**] he kept his promise at the last, 60. 4 *strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exequebatur.*

Ch. **21**, 1. **quibus mala abunde omnia erant**] The use of adverbs as adjectival predicates is commoner in S. than in any prose writer. From the frequency of the construction in the comic poets and Cicero's letters, it is clear that it was a conversational use. Caesar appears to use only *praesto* so. In many instances the verb (*esse*) may be taken to mean 'find oneself', 'behave', 'happen', etc., and from such an understanding of the verb the construction no doubt originated; but on the whole the adverb is treated and felt entirely as a predicate. The following are some of the most unusual instances, J. 85. 6 *adnitundum est uti neque vos capiamini et illi frustra sint* (cp. Plaut. Amph. 974 *iam hisce ambo et servus et era frustra sunt duo qui me Amphitruonem rentur esse*). Applied to things, *frustra esse* occurs in C. 20. 2, and often in the Jugurtha. Cp. also J. 14. 11 *ut ubivis* tutius *quam in meo regno essem* (Cic. ad Att. 14. 22. 2 *qui mihi videntur ubivis tutius quam in senatu fore*). For *abunde* cp. C. 58. 9 *omnia nobis tuta erunt, commeatus abunde. Ita* J. 85. 7 *ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui, uti* e. q. s. So elsewhere *circum, contra, facilius, laxius licentiusque, longe, parum, post, satis, etc.*

movere] cp. Tac. Ann. 3. 32 *motam rursus Africam incursu Tacfarinatis*, and *motus* (*terrae*) for earthquake and political convulsion. "Imitated by Ammianus Marcellinus (about 395 A.D.) 15. 5 *composita turbare; quieta perturbare*". Merivale.

condicio belli] i. e. what was to be got from the war. Cic. p. M. Marc. 4. 12 *recte igitur unus invictus est, a quo etiam ipsius victoriae condicio visque devicta est.*

praemia] On that point they had already been informed, 17. 1.

quid ubique] cp. 27. 1 *C. Manlium Faesulas...dimisit; praeterea alium alio, quem ubique opportunum sibi fore credebat.* Either (1) *ubique* = *et ubi*, or (2) = 'anywhere'. The latter is I think right.

opis aut spei] for variety's sake put for *res et spes.*

2. **tabulas novas]** Cic. in Cat. 2. 8. 18 *Quid enim exspectas?...an tabulas novas? Errant qui istas a Catilina exspectant.*

proscriptionem] probably only 'a publication', took its sinister sense from Sulla's proceedings.

sacerdotia] For the priests had allotments of land, stipends, and in some cases an official residence.

fert] cp. 58. 6 *diutius in his locis esse, si maxume animus ferat, frumenti atque aliarum rerum egestas prohibet.*

3. **praeterea esse]** supply 'he said' from *polliceri.*

P. Sittium Nucerinum] an *eques* of Nuceria in Campania. Catiline, or rather Sallust, is inaccurate here. Sittius left Rome for Spain in the year 690—64 (cp. Cic. p. Sull. 20. 56), and Piso was already dead in June or July of that year (Asconius, p. 83 *Piso autem, cum haec* (the Or. in tog. cand.) *dicerentur, perierat*).—Probably then Sittius was sent out to succeed Piso. Sittius however does not appear to have been long in Spain. He went thence to Mauretania, where he commanded a mercenary force. He returned to Rome after the suppression of the conspiracy, but to escape a prosecution—presumably for complicity therein—he started off again for Spain, en route for Mauretania. There he acted as a very successful 'condottiére' for many years. Later he did good service in the African War 708 (46), with Sallust therefore.—It is curious that Sallust throws suspicion on Sittius while he spares Sulla. If Sittius was an accomplice, so was Sulla (see Cic. p. Sull. 20). S. treats Crassus and Caesar with the same respect of persons (Crassus 17. 7, Caesar 49. 1).

C. Antonium] Hybridam, son of M. Antonius the orator, uncle and father-in-law of the triumvir. He was expelled from the Senate at the same time as Lentulus, for oppression of the Provincials, and was praetor with Cicero. After the conspiracy he was tried for oppression in his government of Macedonia, was defended by Cicero, but condemned. It was a subordinate object of Sallust's, according to Mommsen, to wash Antonius as white as possible (59. 4 *pedibus aeger*).

4. **cupiditatis suae**] for *suus* not referring to the subj. cp. 28. 1 *constituere...Ciceronem...domae suae...confodere.*

5. **curae haberent**] is not used by Cic. Caes. or Livy.

Ch. **22,** 1. **popularis**] again 24. 1, 52. 14 only. It is not used in the Jugurtha or Histories. A slang equivalent for *socios* (*participes conscios*), used here in contempt. Ter. Eun. 1031 *o populares, ecquis me hodie vivit fortunatior?* Phorm. 35 *amicus summus meus et popularis Geta.* Donatus says *popularitas in omnis rei consortium sumitur.*

humani corporis sanguinem] a fable. Cic. says nothing about it. Plut. Cic. 10 *καταθύσαντες ἄνθρωπον ἐγεύσαντο τῶν σαρκῶν.* Dio. 37. 30 *παῖδα γάρ τινα καταθύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅρκια ποιήσας, ἔπειτα ἐσπλάγχνευσεν αὐτὰ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων.* Flor. 4. 4 *additum est pignus coniurationis sanguis humanus, quem circumlatum pateris bibere.*

circumtulisse] i.e. had it passed round from hand to hand.

2. **inde**] i.e. *ex ea potione*: *degustare* elsewhere takes an acc.

consuevit] rarely used impersonally. This is the only place in Sall. where *fieri* (or *facere*) is expressed. C. 29. 2, J. 25. 3, 59. 3 (sc. *fieri*), J. 82. 1, 96. 3 (sc. *facere*). Both the verb of custom and the inf. are omitted in H. 4. 44 *ut in secunda re.* H. 2. 39 *prudentiore quam illas per gentes imperio.*

atque eo dictitare fecisse] These words cannot but be corrupt. Two ways of taking them are proposed. 1. *fuere qui dicerent Catilinam dictitare se eo fecisse*: but then why is *dictitare* present when *aperuisse* and *circumtulisse* are past? 2. to make *dictitare* an historical infinitive (J. 32. 3 *fuere qui...elephantos traderent: alii perfugas* vendere, *pars praedas agebant*: would offer something of a parallel); but against this there are, if no other objection, the objections which apply to any interpretation—why is the frequentative *dictitare* employed, and how is it that *fecisse* has neither subject nor object? If however the words are to be retained, the latter way is the better. It is more reasonable to suppose that Sallust, anxious to disavow any responsibility for the story, gives what was said to have been the object of the rite, than that Catiline should be

represented as giving this very unnecessary explanation at the end of the meeting. Ritschl maintains that the words as they stand are a corruption of some barbarously worded gloss, put by a reader who wished to give the (certainly not unnecessary) explanation, that the final clause (*quo e. q. s.*) did not refer merely to the last words but to the whole sentence, not merely that is to the disclosure of the plans but also to the sacrifice. The reader wrote perhaps *atque eo dictam rem fecisse*—[*dictam rem* however (and *dictas res*) appears in some late MSS, and looks more like an attempt to improve upon *dictitare*]. If however the words are really a corruption of something Sallust wrote, Ritschl suggests that it was *idque eo fecisse.* For other conjectures see text.

3. **non nulli ficta et haec e. q. s.**] S. seems to think that the theory that the blood-drinking was a later invention of Cicero's friends is not improbable: and yet he has stated above that it was a contemporary rumour: § 1 *fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent* ('there were people who said at the time that'). Dr John supposes that S. uses a favourite phrase without consideration (cp. C. 17. 7, 48. 7, 14. 7).

Ch. **23, 1. probri gratia**] 'on account of his disgraceful life'. Cic. de leg. 3. 3. 7 *censores...probrum in senatu ne relinquunto.*

3. **Fulvia**] Whether she had anything to do with the Fulvius mentioned in 17. 3, or with the Fulvia wife of Clodius (afterwards of Curio and M. Antonius) there is no evidence.

maria montisque polliceri] The expression does not, it seems, occur elsewhere, but it must have been a common saying, as it still lives on in the Italian 'promettere mari e monti'. 'To promise mountains' however often occurs. Ter. Phorm. 68 *modo non montes auri pollicens.* Pers. Sat. 3. 65 *magnos promittere montes.*

4. **occultum habuit**] 'did not keep concealed'. J. 94. 3 *quamquam toto die intentos praelio Numidas habuerat.* J. 10. 1 *neque ea res falsum me habuit.*

quae quoque modo] cp. 21. 1 *quid ubique.* It is either (1) *quae et quo:* or (2) *quoque*=in any way. The first is the more appropriate, as it is not said that Fulvia had any other informant than Curio. But Nipperdey is right, I think, in preferring the reading of some inferior MSS *quoquo*='no matter how'.

5. **ea res**] and also, as Plut. Cic. 11 says, the fear of what would happen if Catiline and Antonius got together as consuls.

6. **pleraque nobilitas**] see note on 17. 6 *iuventus pleraque.*

aestuabat — credebant] 7. 4 *iuventus...erat...discebat...*

habebant: as the writer gets further away from the subject sense overrides grammar.

quamvis egregius] 'however distinguished'. *Quamvis* is used only once again by S. and also with an adj. (*spes*) *quae quamvis ampla.* Or. Mac. 20.

post fuere] '*fell* into the background'.

Ch. **24**, 1. **comitiis habitis]** seems to mean 'at' and not 'after the comitia', as in Cic. Phil. 2. 32. 81 *si qui (de caelo) servavit, non comitiis habitis, sed prius quam habeantur, debet nuntiare.* Kritz demurs, however, saying *nondum enim absolutis et ad finem perductis comitiis, non poterant declarari creati consules.* But certainly the declaration was made at the Comitia. For a similar aoristic use of the perf. pass. part. cp. Liv. 2. 36. 1 *servum...sub furca* caesum *medio egerat circo* (Cic. Div. 1. 26. 55 writes *servus per circum,* cum virgis caederetur, *furcam ferens ductus est*).

2. **concusserat]** Kvíčala explains the tense thus 'afterwards however they recovered from the shock and supported their leader energetically'. Roby § 1489 quotes this passage under the heading 'the standard of time is sometimes not given till a subsequent separate sentence', and it is more natural to explain it with reference to the following sentence, 'Catiline's rage was not checked for a moment by this repulse, while his associates had at the first experienced a severe shock'. See note on 18. 6 *transtulerant.*

neque tamen] as you would have supposed after this repulse. S. does not mention the prosecution by Lucceius.

pecuniam...sumptam mutuam] For the coupling of both a participle and an adjective to one substantive, cp. Liv. 32. 2 *pecunia Romae mutua sumpta* (observe the difference of the order of words). J. 12. 3 *quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat.*

Faesulas] Fiesole, close to Florence.

Manlium] The Greek historians, Plut. Cic. 14, Dio 37. 30, Appian B. C. 2. 2, call him Mallius. Manutius &c. on Cic. ad Att. 4. 3. 3 give him the cognomen of Acidinus. Plut. id. *ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶς ὑπὸ Σύλλᾳ στρατευσαμένων.* Dio id. *Γάϊός τις Μάλλιος τῶν τε πολεμικῶν ἐμπειρότατος (μετὰ γὰρ τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου λοχαγῶν ἐστρατεύετο) καὶ πολυδαπανώτατος ὤν.*

princeps fuit belli faciundi] Cic. Phil. 5. 16. 44 (*Caesar*) *ipse princeps exercitus faciendi et praesidii comparandi fuit.* —*belli faciendi.* "This periphrasis of a verbal idea by *facere* and the corresponding subst. is colloquial. Cicero admits it only in the passive, e.g. *gratulatione facta*". Schmalz.

3. **mulieres etiam aliquot**] which was surprising considering the subjection of women in Rome.

4. **interficere**] Appian B. C. 2. 2 *χρήματα δὲ ἀγείρων πολλὰ παρὰ πολλῶν γυναικῶν, αἳ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤλπιζον ἐν τῇ ἐπαναστάσει διαφθερεῖν.*

Ch. **25,** 1. **Sempronia**] wife of D. Junius Brutus (consul 677—77), mother of D. Junius Br. Albinus, one of the *percussores Caesaris*. Cp. § 4. Her husband was away at this time perhaps, 40. 5.

2. **docta**] for the variety of construction cp. 10. 4 *pro his superbiam crudelitatem, deos neglegere, omnia venalia habere edocuit.* Cic. T. D. 5. 20. 58 *tondere filias suas docuit.*

psallere saltare elegantius, e. q. s.] psallere. Quint. 1. 10. 31 *nec psalteria et spadicas, etiam virginibus probis recusanda.* Saltare. Cic. Mur. 6. 13 *Nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit, neque in solitudine neque in convivio moderato atque honesto: tempestivi convivii, amoeni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema saltatio. Tu mihi adripis id, quod necesse est vitiorum esse postremum.* Corn. Nep. Epam. 1. 2 *scimus enim musicen nostris moribus abesse a principis persona, saltare vero etiam in vitiis poni*, and his Preface. Serv. on Verg. G. 1. 350 (quoting this passage) *saltationem aptam religioni nec ex ulla arte venientem.*

3. **sed ei cariora semper omnia quam decus atque pudicitia fuit**] *decus atque pudicitia* are regarded as one notion, and the verb agrees with the nearer subject. J. 74. 3 *Numidis in omnibus proeliis magis pedes quam arma tuta sunt.* (On the other hand in J. 50. 6 *sin opportunior fugae collis quam campi fuerat, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere*, the verb does not agree with the nearer object—which the emphasis on *collis* will perhaps explain.) Cp. Cic. Phil. 4. 4. 9 *Quis illum igitur consulem nisi latrones putant?* Ep. 6. 4. 3 *Me non tantum litterae...quantum longinquitas temporis mitigavit.* Ov. Trist. 1. 2. 1 *quid enim nisi vota supersunt?* Liv. 9. 8. 5 *nec quidquam ex ea (sponsione) praeterquam corpora nostra debentur Samnitibus.* But in these and other instances the sentence has a negative or interrogative form. Is not S. alone in applying this construction to affirmative sentences?

4. **sed ea**] § 3 *sed ei*, § 4 *sed ea.* S. sets up Sempronia again, to launch once and again a fresh attack on her.

5. **verum**] used with contempt, as in C. 52. 33 *verum parcite dignitati Lentuli.* Tacitus clearly borrows from S. in his character of Poppaea Sabina. A. 13. 45 *sermo comis, nec*

absurdum ingenium: modestiam praeferre et lascivia uti... Famae nunquam pepercit.

posse] The hist. inf. generally expresses some action; cp. however J. 67. 2 *ita neque caveri anceps malum neque...resisti posse.*

iocum movere] i.e. to give a humorous turn to the conversation. Teuffel quotes as parallel a grammarian's definition of '*mimus*': *sermonis cuiuslibet* motus *sine reverentia.*

inerat] agrees with the nearer of the two substantives.

Ch. **26**, 1. **nihilo minus]** resuming after the digression of the last chapter. One would have thought that after the preparations for revolution which Catiline had made, he would not have cared about the consulship. But in Cat.'s plans the consulship was simply one among other means for accomplishing his designs, and conversely the armed bands were to support his candidature. Sallust however in what follows does not give a very plausible reason for Catiline's persistence in standing for the consulship.

2. **dolus]** Gellius (12. 9) classes the word along with *tempestas, facinus, periculum, venenum* (C. 11. 3) that in the older language were *vocabula ancipitia*—capable of a good or bad sense. "Ulpian too says: *Veteres dolum etiam bonum dicebant et pro solertia hoc nomen accipiebant, praecipue si adversus hostem latronemve aliquis machinaretur.* The Roman term for legal fraud was *dolus malus*". Long. *Astutia* however is generally used in bad sense (cp. Cic. Ep. 3. 10. 9 *quod si id est maxime astuti, omnia ad suam utilitatem referre*), and probably S. did not intend to be very complimentary to Cicero's detective skill.

4. **pactione provinciae]** Of the two consular provinces, Cisalpine Gaul and Macedonia, the latter and more productive province had fallen to Cicero, but he resigned it to Antonius. Afterwards Cicero resigned Cisalpine Gaul as well to Q. Metellus Celer.

praesidia amicorum] Cic. ad Att. 2. 1. 7 *equitatus ille quem ego in Clivo Capitolio...collocaram.*

5. **consulibus]** but it has just been said that Catiline relied on Antonius' support, and that it was Cicero only for whom C. was laying his snares. Are we then to suppose that S. refers to the *consules designati*, for Cic. (in Cat. 1. 5. 11) at any rate alleges that Cat. had plotted to kill his fellow-competitors—*cum proximis comitiis consularibus me consulem in campo et competitores tuos interficere voluisti?* Or shall we say that *consulibus* is used generally? for the consular authority

was represented mainly by Cicero as Antonius maintained a completely passive attitude (but cp. 29. 3, 32. 1 *consuli*). In the next chapter also § 2 *consulibus* occurs again. The first explanation will hardly do there, as there is no evidence that after the election Cat. plotted at any other time to assassinate the consuls designate. It is possible though that—the former explanation being right in c. 26—S. repeats the plural through inadvertence, as Dr John suggests. Neither explanation however appears to me very probable, and the proposal to read *consuli* in c. 26, and to strike out *consulibus* in c. 27, is tempting. Nipperdey would strike out *quas consulibus in campo fecerat* altogether. He takes objection not only to *consulibus* but to *in campo*, for it is said above that Cat. was aiming at Cic.'s life *omnibus modis*.

aspera foedaque] adj. for adv. as often: in this place for variety, *prospere cessere* being used above. The adj., so used, is not always next to the verb: 52. 29 *vigilando agundo bene consulundo prospera omnia cedunt.* J. 101. 1 *citi sese ostendunt.* A participle is sometimes so used: J. 53. 1 *properantes arma capiunt.*

Ch. **27**, 1. **Manlium Faesulas**] cp. 24. 2. Manlius had come up to Rome to assist in the candidature. Cicero describes Catiline at that time as *circumfluentem colonorum Arretinorum et Faesulanorum exercitu* p. Mur. 24. 49.

Camertem] of Camerinum in Umbria. Nothing is known of Septimius and C. Julius.

ubique] see 21. 1 *quid ubique.*

2. **cum telo esse**] to have arms concealed about the person. Cic. Mil. 4. 11 (an old law) *quae...esse cum telo hominis occidendi causa vetat.*

item alios iubere] J. 100. 4 *ipse armatus intentusque item milites cogebat. alios*=*ceteros*, 43. 3, and often in the Jugurtha—a use common in Livy, but not found in Cicero. The words were not probably very sharply defined in the language of conversation.

fatigari] the passive hist. inf. occurs only once again in the Catiline 10. 6 *haec primo paulatim crescere, interdum vindicari*: more often in Jug. with and without expressed subject.

Observe the arrangement here. 27. 2—28. 3 preparations of the conspirators in Rome, 28. 4 and outside Rome. 29—31. 4 counter-preparations of the government. Then follows the struggle between them. The narrative too is broken up by

short descriptions of the resulting situation 27. 2, 28. 4, 31. 1—3, in which the verbs are mainly in the historical infinitive.

3. Sallust it will be observed puts the meeting at Laeca's house before the passing of the sctum (29. 2). It is clearly a mistake, which has thrown this part of the narrative into confusion. Linker and Ottema attempted to throw the blame on a transposition of the sheets of the original of all our MSS, and wished to put 27. 3 *postremo*—28. 3 *susceperant* after 31. 4 *Paulo.* They are obliged however at 31. 5 to alter *postremo* to *postero die* and to insert *Catilina* after *causa.* That theory is now however given up even by the thorough-going defenders of Sallust at the present time. Indeed the mistake is rather cherished by Dietsch (ed. of 1859, 1. 43 ...*postremo consilium, quo res ordinasset, non indignum esse scriptore, qui ornate quam tenuiter annalium in modum scribere mallet*), A. W. Zumpt, and others, as a striking instance of Sallust's advance upon the meagre annalists, and of his admirable ideal method. Rather it is a striking instance of Sallust's indifference to accuracy, and neglect of the most obvious sources of information. His acquaintance with Cicero's two first Catilinarian speeches must have been very superficial.

per M. Porcium Laecam] Jordan quotes, in support of the *per* of the MSS, 44. 1 *sed Allobroges ex praecepto Ciceronis per Gabinium ceteros conveniunt.* But the difficulty which has been felt is not in the expression itself, but that S. should not have known that the meeting was held at Laeca's house, or that knowing it he did not say so. The fact surely was notorious: Cic. in Cat. 1. 4. 8 *Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios—non agam obscure—in M. Laecae domum:* p. Sulla 18. 52 *quid tandem de illa nocte dicit, cum inter falcarios ad M. Laecam... convenit?* The correction of Palmieri *penes* (which Dietsch adopts) is surely out of the question. *Penes* is never used as a precise equivalent for *apud* (Ter. Adelph. 388 *istaec iam penes vos psaltriast. Ellam intus* e. q. s. is the nearest instance perhaps). Better is the correction *propere ad* (*propere per* 28. 2 below). The *propere* will account for the *per*, but is perhaps better away; the original omission of the *ad* is explained by the termination of *convocat.* I doubt however whether after all there is much difficulty in supposing that S. did not care to mention the detail that the meeting was held in Laeca's *house*, or even that he did know that it was so. He was quite at sea about the *when*, why should he know the *where?* (The *ibi* is not either in favour of a change: it need mean no more than 'at that meeting'. cp. 5. 2.)

4. **paraverat**] S. has a great fondness for the indicative mood, and there are many instances besides the present in-

stance of its use in Or. Obl. in the relative sentences, which cannot but be regarded as parts of the speech: C. 14. 7 *scio fuisse nonnullos qui ita existumarent, iuventutem, quae domum Catilinae frequentabat, parum honeste pudicitiam habuisse:* C. 50. 3 *convocato senatu refert quid de eis fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant.* Cp. also C. 22. 3, 30. 6, 50. 4, 51. 32 and 43, J. 38. 9 *Iugurtha...verba facit: tametsi ipsum...clausum tenet* (so P, but Jordan *teneret*), *tamen se...missurum:* 54. 1 *hortatur ad cetera quae levia sunt parem animum gerant* (here *sunt* because *q. levia sunt* is only a periphrasis for *levia*); and many others.

Ch. **28**, 1. **Cornelius**] was certainly one. See Cic. p. Sull. 18. 52. (Appian B. C. 2. 2 and Plut. Cic. 16 confuse him with C. Cornelius Cethegus, when they mention Cethegus as one of the two.)

Vargunteius senator] Cic. in Cat. 1. 4. 9 talks of *duo equites.* Perhaps V. had lost his place in the senate in consequence of the trial *de ambitu* (Cic. p. Sull. 2. 6). Appian gives Lentulus, Plutarch Marcius as the other. Cic. p. Sull. 6. 18 says that Autronius set Cornelius on.

cum armatis hominibus] Can S. be right about this? Would the two conspirators have made their 'morning-call' with attendants, and armed attendants? The other authorities say nothing of this. Appian B. C. 2. 3 *Λέντλῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἔδοξεν...Λέντλον μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ Κέθηγον ἐφεδρεῦσαι ταῖς Κικέρωνος θύραις περὶ ἕω μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων, ἐσδεχθέντας τε διὰ τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ λαλοῦντας ὁτιδὴ μηκῦναι τὴν ὁμιλίαν ἐν περιπάτῳ καὶ κτεῖναι περισπάσαντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων.* Plut. Cic. 16, Dio 37. 32. Hagen supposes that here (as also in 18. 3) Sall., intent upon writing *quam verissume* (4. 3), wrote down what he found in his authorities in spite of the improbability. Dietsch marks a lacuna after *hominibus*, for he is convinced that S. must at least have added what he supposed these men were for. Sallust's idea may have been that the armed men were to be kept in reserve to shield the murderers afterwards, or to force an entry if necessary. Certainly Cicero's precautions (in Cat. 1. 4. 10 *domum meam maioribus praesidiis munivi atque firmavi*) were rather extravagant as against two men only.

4. **in Etruria**] The 120,000 soldiers settled in Etruria, Samnium, and Lucania.

Ch. **29**, 1. **longius**] only here of time in S., but often in Caesar.

exagitatam] *Exagitari* is never used in S. in the sense 'discussed', 'canvassed', but always to mean 'excited'. The choice then lies between Nipperdey's *agitatam* (the senate

would surely not get their first intimation of the matter from the talk of the town, he says) and Kortte's *exagitatum*, which most editors rightly adopt. The senators had already been much excited by popular talk, so that when Cicero gave them an opportunity, the Senate gave expression to its feelings in the *Sctum ultimum.*

2. **decrevit, darent**] cp. J. 35. 2 *persuadet...regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat:* C. 45. 1 *ita agant permittit.* Sallust is the only writer to omit *ut* after *decerno* and *peto*. The omission of *ut* after *hortari* (J. 54. 1, 56. 2) is found also in Caesar and Tacitus.

3. **ea potestas...maxuma permittitur**] 'The powers thereby conferred are the greatest the senate can give'. Caesar B. C. 1. 5 calls it *illud extremum atque ultimum senatus consultum.* Willems remarks upon this explanatory passage (*ea potestas...ius est*) "The words seem to me an interpolation. In the first place, it is not true that a *iussus populi* was required for all the measures enumerated, not for instance for recruiting or for coercion of the allies. In the second place, the party of the *populares*, to which Sallust belonged, never admitted that the senate had the right to suspend the laws *de provocatione* (which is implied in *domi imperium atque iudicium summum habere*)". Le Sénat, 2. 252, n.

consuli] the singular; for the *authority*, not the *persons*, of the consuls is meant. Cp. Liv. 3. 9. 5 *quod populus in se ius dederit, eo consulem usurum; non ipsos libidinem ac licentiam suam pro lege habituros.*

According to other authorities, on the night of the 20th Oct. Crassus called Cicero up to show him an anonymous letter he had just received, warning him to leave Rome to escape the impending massacre. (Caesar too, whether at this time as is probable or not, gave Cicero intimation of the movements of the conspirators, Suet. Jul. 17.) The production of this letter in the Senate on the next day brought courage and conviction to the senators it seems. They are thereby assured that there is not an understanding between the democrats and anarchists as there had been before—a fact that had made them cautious in dealing with the first conspiracy; and the information that was laid before them by a certain Q. Arrius of Manlius' movements in Etruria, dispelled the doubts they had felt, much to Cicero's vexation, as to whether there was anything in the consul's warnings. Hence they were prepared to pass the *Sctum ultimum.*

Ch. **30**, 2. **arma portari**] 'were transported to one place or another'. Cp. 42. 2 *armorum atque telorum portationibus.*

Hor. Od. 1. 26. 3 *tristitiam et metus tradam protervis—portare ventis.*

3. **senati decreto**] The genitive *senati* appears five times in Jordan's text: c. 36. 5, 53. 1, J. 40. 1 (*senati decreta*), J. 25. 11 (*senati verbis*). In the three instances from the Catiline the form has, besides that of P, the authority of grammarians in its favour. It is only in these formulae that it is employed. In C. 53. 1, two lines above *senati decretum*, S. writes *senatus magna pars*, and cp. with J. 25. 11 *senati verbis* J. 21. 4 *senatus populique R. verbis.* And if a preposition is used the form *senatus* appears. C. 51. 36 *per senatus decretum*, J. 28. 3 *ex senatus decreto*, and C. 42. 3 *ex senatus consulto.* The use of *senati* is perhaps to be reckoned among Sallust's archaisms: *senati consulto* is twice cited by a grammarian from Sisenna, and Plautus uses it. But yet the form is common in inscriptions, and Quintilian writes 1. 6. 27 *Quid de aliis dicam, cum senatus senati an senatus faciat, incertum est.* In C. 59. 5 Dietsch writes *tumulti causa* against the best MSS, but with the authority of the grammarian Nonius.

Q. Marcius Rex] consul 686—68, and afterwards proconsul in Cilicia. Beyond his correspondence with Manlius nothing is said of his doings.

Q. Metellus Creticus] consul 685—69, and, as proconsul, he finished the subjugation of the Cretans.

4. **ad urbem**] Pseudo-Asconius on Cic. in Verr. 2. 6. 17 *Omnis magistratus qui intramuranus non est nec urbanus, etiamsi administrator eius Romae est, ad urbem dicitur. Sallustius: ii utrique e. q. s.*

impediti ne triumpharent calumnia paucorum] It was not the aristocracy, but Pompeius who opposed their triumphs. He maintained that neither could triumph inasmuch as they had fought *alieno auspicio*:—Marcius not, because of the *Lex Manilia* 688(66); Metellus not, because of the *Lex Gabinia* 589(165). Metellus did triumph however in 692(62) and then got the name of Creticus which S. by anticipation now gives him.

quibus omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat] J. 80. 5 *caeci avaritia, quis omnia honesta atque inhonesta vendere mos erat.* J. 31. 12 *homines superbissumi quibus... honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt*—a favourite reflection of Sallust's. In his Histories S. constructs *mos est* with the usual *ut.*

5. **Q. Pompeius Rufus**] afterwards proconsul in Africa 693 (61). It is more likely that he was sent to Capua at a later time, and to succeed Sestius. Cic. p. Sest. 4. 9.

Q. Metellus Celer] consul 694 (60), governed Gallia Cisalpina as proconsul after Cicero resigned it in 692 (62). Cic. in Cat. 2. 3. 5 *itaque ego illum exercitum prae Gallicanis legionibus et hoc dilectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his copiis, quae a nobis cotidie comparantur, magno opere contemno*: and id. 12. 26.

6. **sestertia centum**] over 800 guineas.

7. **itemque decrevere**] a *decrevere* to be taken from this to govern *libertatem*, etc.

Capuam] Is *distribuerentur* considered as a verb of motion, or is *in* to be supplied from *in cetera municipia?* 'should be broken up and sent to'.

minores magistratus] not probably a fixed, but a relative title (Mommsen R. S. 1². 19). The *tresviri nocturni* are certainly included, probably also the aediles and perhaps the quaestors. P gives here *maiores*, which Dietsch thinks has some claim to be considered. Certainly the reading would give the *Stusconsultum* a more thorough-going and exceptional stamp.

Ch. **31, 1. omnis tristitia invasit**] for the construction see 10. 6.

2. **neque loco neque homini cuiquam**] *quisquam* with any but a personal subst. is rather rare (but Cic. Verr. 2. 6. 17 *cuiquam generi hominum*), and would not be ventured but for the following *homini*. Cp. J. 72. 2 *neque loco neque mortali cuiquam aut tempori satis credere.*

3. **rei publicae magnitudine belli timor insolitus**] *magnitudine* abl. of cause to *insolitus*: the extent and power of the Republic had left no enemies to fear.

afflictare sese] Cic. T. D. 3. 26. 62 *muliebres lacerationes genarum pectoris feminum, capitis percussiones.*

rogitare, omnia pavere] *pavere* takes an acc. once or twice in Livy, and often in Tacitus. Jacobs-Wirz prefers to punctuate *rogitare omnia, pavere*, as in J. 66. 1 *parare omnia, festinare*; but the *pavere* then is very weak. Certainly *rogitare* is more fitted to stand alone, but even *rogitare* will be rather solitary, and Eussner's *rogitare omnia, omnia pavere* (which Schmalz adopts) is not a very daring alteration. However that may be, *rogitare* and *pavere* should be taken as a pair,— 'they were alarmed at the answers they received'.

superbia atque deliciis omissis] J. 41. 3 *lascivia atque superbia.*

5. **sicut iurgio lacessitus foret**] Jordan refers for the use of *sicut* to 38. 3, 53. 5: and Fabri (who reads however *et ut* for *aut sui* above) takes the clause to refer to the prosecution of Paullus, and explains the meaning to be that Catiline wished by his presence to create the impression that he regarded this prosecution merely as an attempt to annoy him by a malicious attack on his honour. But *sicut* comes only from C, and the sense I think requires one of the conjectures *si*, *sicubi* (=*si forte*—that word however does not occur in S., though it is unnecessarily conjectured in J. 60. 4), or *si cuius*:—At last either to dissemble (his very presence in the senate would do that) or to clear himself, should he be provoked by taunts from any quarter, he attended the meeting of the senate.

6. **praesentiam eius timens**] Cic. in Cat. 1. 5. 10 *magno me metu liberabis, dum modo inter me atque te murus intersit.*

luculentam] 'brilliant' or 'splendid'. Cicero applies the same epithet to Cato's speech on 5th Dec., ad Att. 12. 21. 1 *cur ergo in sententiam Catonis? quia verbis luculentioribus et pluribus rem eandem comprehenderat*: where it means only 'perspicuous', 'distinct', 'outspoken'.

postea scriptam edidit] consequently, it is implied, I need say nothing of it. It was published in 694 (60) according to Cic. ad Att. 2. 1. 3 (though that passage is rightly (?) suspected).

7. **ut erat paratus ad**] J. 7. 4 *Iugurtha ut erat inpigro atque acri ingenio. Paratus* is generally constructed with inf., but once (J. 91. 2) with *ut*, and with *ad* here only.

ea familia ortum] *ortus* only here in S. with simple ablative, elsewhere with *ex*. Cicero's construction with *ab* does not occur. The fact that *ex* is used in all writers with *orior* in speaking of the source of streams fixes the metaphor perhaps in the common expressions, C. 6. 3 *invidia ex opulentia orta est*, etc.

omnia bona in spe haberet] Cic. ad Att. 11. 19. 1 *quod nulla equidem habeo in spe. Omnia*='nothing but'. Cic. Ep. 5. 10 (a) *sed tamen omnia mihi dura imperas.*

plebem Romanam] Should *populum Romanum* be read here with Dietsch and Schmalz? But it is difficult to suppose that if the archetype of P had *P. R.* the writer can have interpreted that *plebem R.* The *plebem* is not out of place in

Catiline's mouth perhaps.—The earliest *Sergius* that we hear of was *decemvir* in 305 (449) Liv. 3. 35.11. A *L. Sergius Fidenas* was consul for the third time in 316, and consular tribune in 321. A *C. Sergius* was thrice consular tribune between 367 and 374. The most distinguished however was a *M. Sergius Silus* who is highly eulogized by Pliny H. N. 7. 29 *M. Sergio ut quidem arbitror nemo quenquam hominem iure praetulerit, licet pronepos Catilina gratiam nomini deroget.* He lost his right hand in the Second Punic War, but went on fighting with an iron substitute.

inquilinus civis] *inq.* is used here only as an adj. Cp. J. 12. 5 *mulieris ancillae.* The construction does not occur in Caesar, and is rare in Cicero. S. may have borrowed it from Cato, who has *ventus auster, lapides silices* etc. As to the justice of the taunt, Arpinum received *civitas* in 451 (303), and *ius suffragii* in 566 (188). In this chapter S. misplaces one utterance of Catiline's (see next note), and perhaps he is wrong about this too. Asconius says (p. 84) *Huic orationi (in tog. cand.) Ciceronis et Catilina et Antonius contumeliose responderunt, quod solum poterant, invecti in novitatem eius,* and, though Cat. may have repeated himself, Cic. declares (Or. 37. 129) that Cat. was silent and did not attempt to answer this speech—the first of the invectives, nor does Cic. in the second speech make any allusion to any such taunt.

9. **quoniam quidem, e. q. s.**] The remark however was made a few days before the *Comitia*, and to Cato. Cic. p. Mur. 25. 51 *praesertim cum idem ille in eodem ordine paucis diebus ante Catoni ... iudicium minitanti ac denuncianti respondisset, si quod esset in suas fortunas incendium excitatum, id se non aqua sed ruina restincturum.* (Florus 4. 1. 7 follows S., and Val. Max. 9. 11. 3 gives it thus *L. vero Catilina in senatu, M. Cicerone incendium ab ipso excitatum dicente; Sentio, inquit, et quidem illud si aqua non potuero, ruina exstinguam.*)

Ch. **32**, 1. **ex curia**] not necessarily the Curia Hostilia, but any place in which the senate might meet. The senate met on this occasion in the temple of Juppiter Stator. Cic. in Cat. 1. 13. 33, and ad init. *hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus.*

neque insidiae consuli procedebant] a curious construction! The following passages are quoted as parallel: (*a*) below, § 2 *insidias consuli maturent,* (*b*) J. 35. 4 *insidiatores Massivae paret,* (*c*) C. 40. 2 *requirere coepit, quem exitum tantis malis sperarent,* (*d*) C. 40. 3 *miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare.* In all five passages Gründel takes the datives (?) to be

dependent on the noun. Jacobs-Wirz understands the *tantis malis* in (*c*) to be abl. abs., and in the other passages takes the dat. to be dependent on the phrase *insidiae procedebant* (etc.), though in the present instance the *consuli* goes more closely with *insidiae* than with *procedebant*. Dietsch thinks this passage stands quite alone, and must be emended, for *insidiae* is not a verbal noun as *traditio responsio obtemperatio* with which a dative is found constructed in Cic., and the dative with *procedere* is never a *dat. incommodi*. He supposes therefore, following Gerlach, that *intentae* has fallen out after *consuli* (or else would strike out *consuli*). Is not however the explanation of Jacobs, Kritz and others the right one? For this dative cp. Caes. B. G. 5.20 *imperat frumentum exercitui*. Cic. *traditio alteri*: *obtemperatio scriptis legibus*: *intercessorem dictaturae*: *sibi ipsi responsio*. Liv. *exprobatio cuiquam*: *remedium timori*: *Vulcano votum*, etc. (Kühnast, p. 130). Tac. *suffugium hiemi*: *subsidium rei familiari*: *paci firmator*, etc. (Dräger, p. 25).

multa antecapere] Wirz takes *multa* to be a gloss to explain *intempesta* below. Kritz, who also strikes it out, asks 'why not all?'; but it must mean 'many things besides what he had already'.

cum paucis] 'only a few'. Cic. in Cat. 1. 9. 24 *quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo iam sciam esse praemissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium praestolarentur armati?* id. 2. 2. 4 *moleste fero quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit.*

2. **mandat quibus rebus possent opes factionis confirment**] For the mixture of tense after an historical present cp. Cic. Verr. 2. 23. 55 rogant *eum, ut sibi id, quod ab ipsis* abisset *pecuniae*, curet. Caes. B. G. 1. 8 *castella* communit, *quo facilius si se invito transire* conarentur, *prohibere* possit. The clause which is logically nearer to the principal, in such a case, is the one to be put into the present. Sallust however writes J. 46. 4 persuadet *ut Iugurtham maxime vivom, sin id parum* procedat, *necatum sibi* traderent (where Cicero would have put *procederet—tradant*. Dräger, H. S. 1. 236).—Hoffmann agrees with Dietsch that *possint* should be read here.

ex suo numero]=*ex numero suorum*. Cp. J. 35. 6 *igitur unus ex eo numero, qui...parati erant.*

Ch. **33**, 1. **quo**] without a comparative is common in S. cp. 11. 5, 14. 2, 38. 3, etc.: and for the variation *quo...uti* cp. 34. 2 *non quo...sed uti*, 58. 3.

corpora nostra...qui] J. 85. 28 *vostra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem et maxumum negotium inposuistis.*

feneratorum] The XII Tables fixed the highest rate of interest at 10 per cent. per annum. Afterwards it was reduced by half: cp. Tac. A. 6. 16. For the provinces there seems to have been not even a legal limit.

plerique patriae sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes sumus] The old-fashioned construction of *expers* with the ablative, which Plautus uses, is employed to give variety: cp. J. 74. 3 *Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti.* J. 84. 2 *plerosque militiae paucos fama cognitos.* Or. Lep. 17 *praedam venum aut dono datam.* The use of *sed* is questionable, in C. 61. 3 (*pauci...paulo divorsius sed omnes tamen advorsis volneribus conciderant*), the *tamen* makes all the difference. Weinhold's *patria sede*, or better Eussner's independent *patriae sedis* would mend the passage: cp. Or. Lep. 12 *plebis innoxiae patrias sedes occupavere pauci satellites mercedem scelerum.*

liberum corpus] The severity of the XII Tables, which (if Gellius 20. 1. 18 rightly understands the words) allowed the creditor even more than the exact 'pound of flesh', was mitigated by the lex Poetelia et Papiria 428 (326). Liv. 8. 28. 8 *ne quis... in compedibus...teneretur; pecuniae creditae bona debitoris, non corpus obnoxium esset.*

praetoris] a praetor was murdered by usurers 665 (89) because he ventured *secundum debitores ius dicere.*

2. **vostrum**] Gellius 20. 6. 14 '*inportunissime*' *inquit* (*Apollinaris Sulpicius*) '*fecerunt qui in plerisque Sallusti exemplaribus scripturam istam sincerissimam corruperunt. Nam cum ita in Catilina scriptum esset: saepe maiores uestrum miseriti plebis Romanae, uestrum obleuerunt et uestri superscripserunt. Ex quo in plures libros mendae istius indoles manauit*,—an unpleasant intimation of early corruption in the MSS of Sallust.

opitulati] a conversational word, frequently used in Cicero's letters, but not by Caesar, Livy, or Tacitus.

argentum aere solutum est] The Lex Valeria 668 (86). Velleius 2. 23 *Valerius Flaccus turpissimae legis auctor qua creditoribus quadrantem solvi iusserat.* A creditor had to be satisfied with the copper *as* for the silver *sestertius*—with 5*s*. in the pound.

3. **plebes...a patribus secessit**] (1) 260 (494) Liv. 2. 32. (2) 305 (449) Liv. 3. 50. J. 31. 17 *maiores vostri parandi iuris et maiestatis constituendae gratia bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere.* (3) 467 (287) to the *Janiculum*—owing to the burden of debt. Liv. Ep. 11. (4) C. Gracchus occupied the Aventine.

5. **te atque senatum obtestamur, consulatis miseris civibus—neve nobis—inponatis**] see note on 51. 7.

maxume ulti] *ulti* is logically the principal verb, 'how in the battle for life or death we may sell our blood as dear as possible'.

Ch. **34**, 1. **respondit—vellent—discedant**] The other instances in S. of the present subj. in *oratio obliqua* dependent on a past tense are 41. 5 *legatis praecepit ut studium coniurationis simulent, e. q. s.* (Dietsch however reads *respondet* and *praecipit*) and 52. 14. Cicero appears to have never put the present in this case, but there are numerous instances in Caesar and Livy (Kühnast, p. 225). For the mixture of tense here cp. 32. 2. Hoffmann says that the present (*discedant* and *proficiscantur*) is here used that there may be no mistake about their having the force of imperatives; if the impf. had been used it would have been possible to take them hypothetically.

2. **optumo cuique**] i.e. *nobilissumo cuique ex optimatibus.*

Massiliam in exilium proficisci] Cic. in Cat. 2. §§ 14, 16. Milo after Clodius' murder went to Marseilles.

oreretur] The same form is found J. 72. 1, but *oriretur* in J. 6. 3. "The poets of the Augustan age use neither *oriretur* nor *oreretur*. In the MSS of the prose writers, and especially in the more accurate, *oreretur* and *orerentur* are so common, that they cannot be regarded, one and all, as mistakes of the writers of the manuscripts." Neue, Formenlehre 2. 418.

3. **earum exemplum**] The words imply that we have here an exact copy of the original letter: and the style makes that exceedingly probable. The letter contains many words and phrases that do not occur elsewhere in Sallust: *satisfactio, conscientia de culpa, medius fidius, statum dignitatis obtinere, aes alienum meis nominibus, honore honestatos.*

Ch. **35**, 1. **re cognita**] *cognita* is nom. Catulus had befriended Catiline it is said and got him acquitted when he was charged with incest with a vestal virgin, Fabia, sister of Cicero's wife Terentia. The trial took place in 681 (73).

fiduciam—tribuit] for the more usual *fidem facit.*

2. **in novo consilio**] the sudden resolution of going to Manlius.

3. **non quin**] P V etc. have *non quin aes alienum meis nominibus ex possessionibus solvere* non *possem, et alienis nominibus liberalitas Orestillae suis filiaeque copiis persolveret, sed quod, e. q. s.* If *non quin* is to be kept the *non* (*possem*) must go. I have ventured to restore *et* for *at*, which Jordan

has ex conj., as he states in his preface to the second edition p. xi, '*haec verba neque Nipperdei patrocinio neque coniectura mea ab omni dubitatione vindicata esse sero intellexi*'. The *at* does not mend matters much; for other conjectures see critical notes to text. If we expunge the *non* and take the *et—persolveret* as parenthetical with Nipperdey, the passage will do well enough in a letter written in such hurry. 'Not but what I could have paid out of my own property my own personal debts—and the liberality of Orestilla would have wiped off out of her own and her daughter's fortune those for which others had given security on my behalf—it is not that, but because...' *aes alienum alienis nominibus* is explained by some editors to mean debts arising from loans raised by friends of Catiline on his security, but see 24. 2.

non dignos homines] Cicero, and perhaps Murena,—the first consul in his family.

honore honestatos] Plaut. Capt. 355 *Di tibi omnes omnia optata offerant, quom me tanto honore honestas*—an archaic, perhaps popular, phrase.

4. **hoc nomine**] common in the epistolary style for *causa*. Cic. ad Att. 6. 2. 3 *is multis nominibus...Graecos in eo reprehendit quod mare tantum secuti sunt.*

6. **Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado**] J. 63. 3 *sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus.* V corrects to *O. tibi commendo.*

Ch. **36**, 1. **C. Flaminium**] The *Flammam* of one MS is probably from a gloss—a C. Flaminius Flamma is mentioned in Cic. ad Att. 14. 16. 4.

in agro Arretino] Arezzo not far from Florence: the 'via Cassia' was the shortest route, but Catiline went by the 'via Aurelia'. Some of his followers awaited him at Forum Aurelii.

2. **praeter—condemnatis**] not as Priscian says for *condemnatos*, for *praeter* is adv., cp. Gellius 1. 23. 13 *uti posthac pueri cum patribus in curiam ne introeant, praeter ille unus Papirius.*

4. **multo maxume**] It was the rule with Cicero to put *multo* with comparatives, *longe* with superlatives. Sallust, on the contrary, puts *longe* with the superlative only once, J. 9. 2 *longe maxuma*, and writes Or. Macr. 9 *longe saevior.* Cicero, it is said, has *multo* with a superlative only once de imp. Pomp. 18. 54 *magna ac multo maxuma.*

otium atque divitiae, quae prima mortales putant] Fabri, on the strength of J. 41. 1 *abundantia earum rerum quae prima*

mortales ducunt, explains this construction as an attraction, *prima* being used substantively. Rather in the present passage *quae* is according to the ordinary rule neuter, and in the passage quoted we have an instance of synesis common with *res*. J. 102. 9 *humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit.*

perditum irent] common in the comic drama, and clearly a colloquial phrase. It is not used by Cicero (unless *perditum eamus* be the proper reading in Ep. 14. 1. 5); often in Sall. 52. 12 *ne illi sanguinem nostrum largiantur et, dum paucis sceleratis parcunt, bonos omnis perditum eant.* J. 31. 27, 85. 42 *nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissumi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt,* J. 68. 1 *cum maxuma cura ultum ire iniurias festinant. Perditum ire* is not a mere periphrasis equivalent to *perdere*, but rather 'to go in for'.

5. **namque**] once or twice only before consonants in Cicero. S. puts it more often than not before consonants.

duobus senati decretis] abl. abs. with concessive sense, as 11. 4 *bonis initiis.*

inductus] with *quisquam.*

patefecerat—discesserat] i.e. *dies statuta aderat, neque quisquam* etc. Kvičala.

tanta vis morbi ac veluti tabes] *ac veluti* is Haupt's correction for *atque uti*. Some MSS omit the *uti*, but the writers, says Haupt, struck out what they did not see how to correct. Similar phrases often occur in S., cp. J. 32. 4 *tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum veluti tabes invaserat.* H. 4. 26 *qui quidem mos ut tabes in urbem coierit.* Or. Phil. 9 *neu patiamini licentiam scelerum quasi rabiem ad integros contactu procedere.* C. 10. 5 *ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit.* Dietsch's *erat quae uti tabes* from Bursian (?), though ingenious, does not in the face of the above passages seem very probable. Nipperdey thought the following passages sufficient to defend the MS reading. Tac. H. 1. 46 *nam gregarius miles ut tributum annuum pendebat.* id. 2. 94 *liberti principum conferre pro numero mancipiorum ut tributum iussi.* Cic. de inv. 2. 3. 8 *ex his duabus diversis sicuti familiis.* Caes. B. G. 6. 26. 2 *ab eius summo sicut palmae ramique late diffunduntur.*

Ch. **37**, 1. **aliena mens**] The medical metaphor introduced by *morbi* and *tabes* is still maintained in *aliena*: cp. Livy's *alienata mens* for 'insanity'.

qui conscii coniurationis fuerant] 'who had *become* members of the conspiracy', or 'had *been*' before the exposure in the senate.

2. **id adeo]** καὶ τοῦτό γε: repeated in § 11. J. 110. 4, 111. 1 *faciundum aliquid, quod illorum magis quam sua retulisse videretur: id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam copiam Iugurthae haberet.*

3. **egestas facile habetur sine damno]** to explain *sine cura*: 'since beggary is a position which it is not difficult to keep up'.

4. **sed urbana plebes ea vero praeceps erat]** for *ea vero* see note on 12. 5. Sallust uses both *plebs* and *plebes*. *Plebs*, however, occurs only thrice, and the form *plebẹi* occurs only in the Histories; so that *plebes* should be regarded perhaps as belonging to the third declension.

5. **item alii qui]** supply *aetatem agebant* from *praestabant*, or even *praestabant* itself. But most editors wisely strike *qui* out. The *alii patrimoniis amissis* is put instead of *qui...amiserant* for variety.

sicut in sentinam] 'the drains'. Cicero is fond of the metaphorical use of the word, cp. in Cat. 1. 5. 12 *exhaurietur ex urbe magna et perniciosa sentina rei publicae.* Ad Att. 1. 19. 4 etc.

6. **ex gregariis militibus alios senatores videbant]** S. is probably right about the *gregarii milites* (Willems, Le Sénat 1. 407). He is supported by Dion. Hal. 5. 77 βουλήν τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων συνέστησε. According to other authorities, however, Sulla recruited the senate only from the *equites.* Liv. Ep. 89 *(Sulla) senatum ex equestri ordine supplevit.* Appian B. C. 1. 100 ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππέων.

multi—sibi quisque, si in armis foret, ex victoria talia sperabat] When *quisque* is put in apposition to a plural subject, as here, it does not as a rule influence the number of the verb. See C. 38. 3. The present exception is due to the long interval which separates *multi* from the verb. There are also two exceptions in fragments quoted by Grammarians from the Histories, but probably the quotations are not correct, e.g. H. 3. 72 *ut sustinere corpora plerique nequeuntes arma sua quisque instans incumberet* (should be *stantes incumberent*).

[There is a curious instance of the use of *quisque* in J. 18. 3 *exercitus eius compositus ex variis gentibus amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus brevi dilabitur* where *quisque* cannot be referred to the subject of the sentence. But Madvig thinks that at least *quisque* must be taken to = *quibusque*, if *quibusque* should not be rather read.]

Why should this class be a factor of the *urbana plebs* in particular? It is explained why the other two classes §§ 5 and 7

are to be so considered, but why should the class which expected to make its fortune out of a revolution after Sulla's pattern be confined to Rome? Nipperdey proposed accordingly to put § 7 before § 6, supposing that *praeterea—alebat* had been originally left out by mistake, then added in the margin, and so in after copies inserted in the wrong place. The reference of *maxuma spe* to *victoria talia sperabat* would he thought be thus rendered clearer. The alteration would be an improvement, but it is a mistake to look for much orderly arrangement in S., and certainly the *urbana plebs*, who saw the senators assembling and had the splendours of town-life before their eyes, would be under an especial temptation to indulge in hopes of like good fortune.

7. **privatis atque publicis largitionibus**] *privatis*, those of candidates for office: *publicis*, from the *aediles*.

8. **quo minus mirandum**] i.e. *et eo quod omnes malum publicum alebat minus mirandum est quam si eos malum publicum non aluisset.* Gründel.

rei publicae iuxta ac sibi consuluisse] *iuxta* 'as little as'. Cp. 2. 8 *eorum ego vitam mortemque iuxta aestumo.*

9. **quorum victoria Sullae parentes proscripti, bona erepta, ius libertatis inminutum erat**] By the lex Cornelia L. Sullae de proscriptione 673 (81), Vell. 2. 28 *adiectum etiam, ut bona proscriptorum venirent, exclusique paternis opibus liberi etiam petendorum honorum iure prohiberentur, simulque, quod indignissimum est, senatorum filii et onera ordinis sustinerent et iura perderent.* Cicero in his consulship prevented a bill to enable the children of the proscribed to hold offices passing. It passed finally 705 (49).

11. **multos post annos**] 11 years. See next note.

Ch. **38**, 1. **Cn. Pompeio et M. Crasso consulibus tribunicia potestas restituta est**] 684 (70). Liv. Ep. 89 *Sulla* (673—81) *tribunorum plebis potestatem minuit et omne ius legum ferendarum ademit.* (1. Any one who had been tribune was declared incapable of holding other offices. 2. The tribunes were not allowed to propose any legislative measures to the tribes, nor—3. To hold public meetings at all.) Vell. 2. 30 *Pompeius tribuniciam potestatem restituit, cuius Sulla imaginem sine re reliquerat.*

adulescentes] for there was no *legituma aetas* for the tribuneship, though it was usually filled after the quaestorship, for which the age was 31: *summam potestatem* is the tribuneship.

fieri] hist. inf.

3. post illa tempora] i.e. when the period of renewed tribunicial activity began, cp. *post dominationem* in 5. 6. Dietsch thinks the reference of *illa* too vague for the perspicuous Sallust, and reads ex conj. *post Sullae tempora*—in 28. 4 P has *exulanas*, p *exillanis*, for *ex Sullanis*.

honestis nominibus] H. 1. 10 *pauci potentes, quorum in gratiam plerique concesserant, sub honesto patrum aut plebei nomine dominationes adfectabant.* Sall. clearly had before him Thuc. 3. 82 *οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστάντες μετ' ὀνόματος ἑκάτεροι εὐπρεποῦς, πλήθους τε ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος προτιμήσει, τὰ μὲν κοινὰ λόγῳ θεραπεύοντες ἆθλα ἐποιοῦντο, παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι ἐτόλμησάν τε τὰ δεινότατα, ἐπεξῇεσάν τε τὰς τιμωρίας ἔτι μείζους κ.τ.λ.*

4. neque illis modestia neque modus contentionis erat] cp. 11. 4 *neque modum neque modestiam victores habere.* The *illis* refers to both parties. It is not necessary to strike it out with Kortte; nor to read, as Eussner proposes, *neque* illis *modestia neque modus* his *contentionis erat*, which would make S. draw a curious distinction between the want of moderation of character in the oligarchy, and of moderation in acts in the popular party.

Ch. **39,** 1. As Mommsen says, Sallust is clear that the Gabinian and Manilian laws dealt the democracy a deadly blow. He identifies Pompeius with the aristocratic party throughout, cp. 19. 2, 30. 4.

2. **innoxii]** is here passive in meaning, = inviolate. (It is used in another sense 40. 6.) Other adjectives so used are *ignarus* J. 18. 6 *mare magnum et ignara lingua commercio prohibebant*, J. 52. 4 *regio hostibus ignara*: *incertus* J. 49. 5 *inter virgulta equi Numidaeque consederant neque plane occultati humilitate arborum et tamen incerti quidnam esset.* ('They were difficult to distinguish as to what they were.') Cp. too J. 10. 1 *neque ea res falsum me habuit*—where *falsus* means 'deceived'. J. 17. 6 *salubri corpore* (*salubris* generally means 'health-giving').

ceterosque iudiciis terrere, quo plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent] The sense seems to be: The oligarchs (*ipsi*) resorted to legal prosecutions, to deter the other officials (the tribunes principally) from stirring up the people against them. The passage however is a difficult one, and such an explanation is not free from objection. That the tribunate should be called a *magistratus* is no difficulty, cp. J. 37. 1 *tribuni plebis ...continuare magistratum nitebantur*; but there would be a contradiction, though only a verbal one, as it has just been

said that the oligarchs had a monopoly of the magistracies. It certainly looks too as if *ipsi* and *ceteros* were meant as a division of the oligarchs (Fabri quotes 20. 7, but not very aptly, to show that *ceteri* need not be so taken). More serious too and suspicious is the *que* which many editors, who otherwise retain the MS reading, strike out; it is very out of place (cp. 51. 30 *iuxta bonos et malos lubidinose interficere, ceteros metu terrere*), and its presence in the best MSS gives colour to the alteration of Ritschl. He adopted Kritz' *qui* for *quo*, but altered the order—*ceteros, qui plebem in magistratu placidius tractarent, iudiciis terrere.* The reading of our MSS may have arisen from the words *plebem—tractarent* being accidentally omitted, then added in the margin and afterwards copied into the wrong place, *qui* being altered to *que* and *quo* inserted to make sense. The meaning will then be:—The extreme oligarchs frightened their milder colleagues, who (or—because they) did not treat the people with sufficient harshness, with legal prosecutions. I should not however be disposed to abandon the MS reading, as interpreted above, for this alteration. Would Sallust, with his affection for the indicative, have used the subjunctive? (C. 52. 8 *fecissem* is the only at all parallel instance as far as I know.) The meaning given to *p. tractare* is not probable, cp. J. 41. 2 *nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rem publicam tractabant* (they managed to share the government and yet to keep the peace), Tac. A. 3. 12 *simulque illud reputate, turbide et seditiose tractaverit exercitus Piso.* The first interpretation seems to me more suitable to the context and to Sallust's treatment of the subject elsewhere than the other. He takes no account of the moderate politicians, and with Thucydides before him (3. 82. 8 ff, here ἢ μετὰ ψήφου ἀδίκου καταγνώσεως: other echoes will be found in J. 41. 42 and elsewhere), represents the history of Rome as in the main a see-saw of a few unscrupulous men divided into two bitterly hostile camps, who use party catchwords merely to mask their selfish aims. See J. 31. 13 *pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis alii quaestiones iniustas plerique caedem in vos fecisse pro munimento habent*, 41. 5 *omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt.* See too note on *eorum* below.

3. **dubiis rebus**] abl. abs.

novandi] absolutely in this sense is rare: cp. Tac. A. 4. 18 *neque mansurum Tiberio imperium, si eis quoque legionibus cupido novandi fuisset.*

eorum] is understood by some editors to refer to *plebem* § 2, or even to *plebis* § 1. But it surely refers to *ceteros*, who cannot therefore be the moderate oligarchs. (Ritschl did not account for *eorum.*)

4. **superior aut aequa manu]** '*aut*' *deminutivum*: cp. J. 56. 5 *cuncti aut magna pars.*—Tac. A. 1. 63 *manibus aequis abscessum.*

illis qui victoriam adepti forent] If Catiline's forces had not collapsed but had held their own against the then government, the victors in the civil war which would have followed (whether Catiline or the aristocrats) would not have been able, exhausted by the bloody conflict, to have maintained themselves in power—that appears to be the meaning; but if *illis* is to be referred to Catiline's party only, as Dietsch maintains, then must we not with him alter *qui* to *si?* Jacobs however endeavours to get this sense out of the words as they stand 'Not even to them even if they', which seems very forced.

qui plus posset] "*ὁ μεῖζον δυνάμενος*, a veiled allusion to Pompeius." Schmalz.

5. **fuere tamen]** It would be better to begin the new paragraph here. S. now leaves his reflection and returns to the interrupted narration 36. 3. Others explain the *tamen* 'in spite of the poor chances of ultimate success, Catiline found many followers'.

fuere...complures, qui...profecti sunt] The indicative is used when a subject is expressed, cp. 52. 21 *alia fuere quae illos magnos fecere.*

Fulvius senatoris filius, quem...parens necari iussit] Val. Max. 5. 8. 5 *nec minus animose A. Fulvius, vir senatorii ordinis euntem in aciem filium retraxit. Namque iuvenem...supplicio mortis affecit, praefatus non se Catilinae eum adversus patriam, sed patriae adversus Catilinam genuisse.* Dio 36. 37 *Αὖλον δὲ Φούλβιον, ἄνδρα βουλευτὴν, αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέσφαξεν.* The *patria potestas* gave the father the *ius vitae necisque* over the son. The lex Pompeia de parricidiis excluded from the number of persons who could be guilty of parricide (i.e. the murder of a blood relation) the father who killed the son. It was not till later times that this power was withdrawn. Hadrian condemned to deportation a father who killed his son. Constantine (A.D. 319) included killing by a father under the crime of parricide. So by the legislation of the later emperors severe punishment would only be inflicted on a son by a magistrate. Trajan compelled a father to emancipate a son whom he treated with inhumanity. The later emperors also took away the power that a father had of choosing whether he should rear or expose a child, and of selling his children. As regards the rights of the *paterfamilias* over the *property* of the son, see note on 43. 2. (A similar act of severity is highly praised by Ampelius, who

in his list of *Romani, qui in toga fuerunt illustres* mentions *Cornelius Cethegus, qui fratrem suum Cethegum, quod cum Catilina coniurasset, morte multandum censuit,* on the 5th of Dec.)

6. **isdem]** cp. Cic. Or. 47. 157 (Ennius says) *in templis isdem; at 'eisdem' erat verius, nec tamen probavit, ut opimius.*

aut per se] Dietsch reads *ipse* for *per se*, but unnecessarily: cp. Cic. p. Arch. 10. 26 *a Q. Metello Pio..., qui civitate multos donavit, neque per se neque per Lucullos impetravisset.*

Ch. **40,** 1. **P. Umbreno cuidam]** Cic. in Cat. 3. 6. 14 *idem hoc decretum est...in Q. Annium Chilonem, qui una cum hoc Furio* (50. 4) *semper erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus, in P. Umbrenum, libertinum hominem e. q. s.*

obpressos—quod...esset] for the inconcinnity cp. 16. 4 *eis amicis sociisque confisus C., simul quod aes alienum—ingens erat.* J. 25. 5 *ei, quod res in invidia erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati.*

2. **quod in Gallia negotiatus erat]** Cic. p. Font. 5. 11 *referta Gallia negotiatorum est, plena civium Romanorum: nemo Gallorum sine cive Romano quicquam negotii gerit; nummus in Gallia nullus sine civium Romanorum tabulis commovetur.*

civitatium] Of the fem. nouns in *-tas* which are found occasionally with gen. plur. in *-ium*, *civitas* is the commonest, and especially in Livy.

notus erat atque eos noverat] J. 70. 1 *suspectus regi et ipse eum suspiciens.*

quem exitum tantis malis sperarent] Some editors take *tantis malis* to be abl. abs.: cp. 11. 4 *bonis initiis malos eventus habuit.* It is more probably the dat., cp. J. 14. 24 *utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset.* So in § 3 below *miseriis suis* is dat. after *remedium expectare.* Liv. 3. 3. 5 *id remedium timori fuit.* See 32. 1 *insidiae consuli procedebant.*

5. **aliena consili]** *alienus* is generally used absolutely in S. It is used once with *a*, 51. 17 (*sententia*) *aliena a re publica*: once with simple abl., 56. 5 *alienum suis rationibus*: with the gen. here only, as once or twice in Cicero (Fin. 1. 4. 11 *quis alienum putet eius esse dignitatis*).

ab Roma aberat] S. never puts the simple ablative with *absum*, but always *ab*. Otherwise it is not Sallust's practice to

put the preposition with the ablative of a name of a town. He does so only four times: J. 91. 3 *pervenit in locum tumulosum ab Capsa non amplius duum milium intervallo.* J. 104. 1 (*legatos*) *et Sullam ab Utica venire iubet.* J. 61. 1 *Metellus... ab Zama discedit.* The classical usage (Cicero's and on the whole Caesar's) is to put the preposition only when the town is used for the surrounding district, or when a general is spoken of as withdrawing from a town with his troops (J. 61. 1). In older Latin the preposition is more often used than not, and it is Livy's general practice. (Suetonius says of Augustus, c. 86, *neque praepositiones urbibus addere neque coniunctiones saepius iterare dubitavit*, because he was anxious, *sensum animi quam apertissime exprimere.*) Neither Livy nor Augustus however were generally followed.

6. **Gabinium arcessit quo maior auctoritas sermoni inesset]** Umbrenus was but a *libertinus*, while Gabinius (17. 4) was an *eques* and in the inner circle of the conspiracy.—The MS P gives the spelling *arcesso* always in the Catiline, but varies between that form and *accerso* in the Jugurtha.—With regard to the tense of *inesset*, when the dependent cause follows the principal clause with the verb in the historical present, in the Catiline its verb is generally present (36. 3 *decernit ut habeant.* 48. 5 *postulant uti referatur.* 50. 3 *refert quid de eis fieri placeat, etc.*). The only other instance of a past tense is C. 44. 3 *Volturcium mittit ut confirmarent* (cp. C. 32. 2). In the Jugurtha on the other hand past and present tenses are used about equally. It has been remarked that Caesar uses the present after historical presents of verbs *imperandi adhortandi petendi monendi*, while after other verbs he uses both present and past indifferently. Post-Augustan writers prefer the past sequence.

innoxios] in a different sense above 39. 2, cp. the use of *requirere* § 1 'to look up', § 2 'to ask'.

operam suam] Cic. in Cat. 3. 2. 4 *itaque ut comperi, legatos Allobrogum belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos*, id. § 9 *ita...esse praescriptum, ut equitatum in Italiam quam primum mitterent.*

Ch. **41**, 2. **maiores opes]** in contrast to the *aes alienum*. The senate had more ability to relieve them of their burden of debt.

4. **Q. Fabio Sangae, cuius patrocinio]** Cic. de off. 1. 11. 35 *tantopere apud nostros iustitia culta est ut ei qui civitates aut nationes devictas bello in fidem recepissent earum patroni essent more maiorum.* And the patronate might pass on from father to son, as with the Marcelli in Sicily. Q. Fabius Maximus was the conqueror of the Allobroges. Pseudo-Cic. or. pro domo

52. 134 talks of Murena—*Viderat ille Murenam...consulem designatum, ad me consulem cum Allobrogibus communis exitii iudicia adferre.*

5. **praecepit ut—simulent**] Cp. 34. 1 *ad haec Q. Marcius* respondit, *si quid ab senatu petere vellent, ab armis* discedant. Schmalz supposes that Sall. resuscitates the old form of the present *praecĕpio, praecĕpit.* So Linker, followed by Dietsch and others. Cp. J. 13. 6 *Romam legatos mittit quis praecepit* (so P, but Jordan *praecipit*) *primum ut veteres amicos muneribus expleant*, but J. 28. 1 *praecipit omnis mortalis pecunia aggrediantur* (only C have *praecepit*).

bene polliceantur] *polliceri* and *promittere* are often so constructed: i.e. absolutely with an adverb where one would expect rather an object, 'to make splendid promises'. In other writers (besides *bene*) *large liberaliter polliceri* (*promittere*) are found, and such parallel phrases as *largiter posse* (Caes.) *Latine docere* (*discere*, even *oblivisci* in Cic.). For further instances of adverbs used predicatively in S., cp. J. 11. 1 *tametsi ipse longe aliter* (*alia*) *animo agitabat*, J. 24. 5 *nisi tamen intellego illum* supra *quam ego sum petere*; and note on 26. 5 (Nägelsbach, pp. 376, 488).

Ch. **42**, 2. **portationibus**] occurs besides in only one writer—Vitruvius; a common and not a literary word.

festinando] Cato (apud Gell. 16. 14) *qui unum quid mature transigit, is properat, qui multa simul incipit neque perficit, is festinat.*

3. **in citeriore Gallia C. Murena**] S. is wrong here. C. Murena was in Gallia *transalpina*, where he had been left in command by his brother Lucius, when he went to Rome to canvass for the consulship: cp. Cic. Mur. 41. 89. It was Metellus Celer who was in command in nearer Gaul. He had been first sent *in agrum Picenum* (C. 30. 5) or more exactly *in agrum Gallicum Picenumque* (Cic. in Cat. 2. 12. 26), and his command was extended or transferred to Gallia cisalpina, when Cicero handed over that province to him before the close of the year 63 B.C. Kortte altered *citeriore* to *ulteriore*, which Dietsch and others adopt, preferring to attribute the mistake to the MSS rather than to S.

Ch. **43**, 1. **Lentulus cum ceteris—constituerant**] J. 38. 6 *cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum—transiere* J. 101. 5 *Bocchus cum peditibus—invadunt.* Caesar and Tacitus give no examples of the construction. Cicero has the construction only once or perhaps twice. Phil. 12. 11. 27 *Sulla cum Scipione—leges inter se et condiciones contulerunt.* Ep. 14. 7. 2 *me aliquando cum similibus nostri rem publicam defensuros* (*? defensurum*).

paratis ut videbantur magnis copiis] *videbantur* instead of *videbatur* of the best MSS. Perhaps, as Fabri says, *videor* is always used personally in such a parenthesis, but at any rate the plural seems necessary here to show that the meaning is not 'when they had got ready forces which seemed to them *great*', but 'when their forces were as it seemed to them *ready*'.

Faesulanum] is certainly surprising. For one gathers from S. himself, 32. 2, 43. 2, 44. 6, that the plan was that the conspirators should not carry the incendiarism and massacre into execution till Catiline, coming from Faesulae, had got close to Rome; and that for the reason that Cic. in Cat. 3. 4. 8 gives (*ut*) *praesto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet et se cum his urbanis ducibus coniungeret.* And not only that, but Bestia would not be tribune till 10 Dec., while we are led to suppose in 36. 1—3 that Catiline had already reached Faesulae long before that date. There is therefore a general agreement among the commentators that S. did not write *Faesulanum.* Dietsch has suggested *Carsulanum* (Carsulae near Narnia in Umbria) and *Trossulanum* (Trossulum near Volsinii in Etruria). *Aesulanum* (Aesulae near Tibur) has also been proposed, and Wirz suggests more cautiously *suburbanum.* It may however be questioned whether the slip or mistake is not Sallust's own; and not a scribe's. Appian, who undoubtedly took his account of the conspiracy from S., has the same mistake. B. C. 2. 3. *Λέντλῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς συνωμόταις ἔδοξεν ὅτε Κατιλίναν ἐν Φαισούλαις πυνθάνοιντο γεγενῆσθαι...Λεύκιον δὲ Βηστίαν τὸν δήμαρχον ἐκκλησίαν εὐθὺς ὑπὸ κήρυξι συνάγειν καὶ κατηγορεῖν τοῦ Κικέρωνος.* And see note on 56. 4, p. 160.

L. Bestia—contione habita—proxuma nocte] Cic. in Cat. 3. 4. 10 *hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis Saturnalibus caedem fieri atque urbem incendi placeret, Cethego nimium id longum videretur.* The Saturnalia were on 19 Dec. Sallust gives no date, but a *contio* could not be held on the day of the Saturnalia. Perhaps the plan was originally fixed for 10 Dec.—the day of Bestia's entry upon his office, but when no tidings came of Catiline's approach, the execution was postponed to 19 Dec., in spite of the protests of Cethegus.

optumo consuli] Cic. ad Att. 12. 21. 1 (*Brutus*) *se etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quod scripserit 'optimum consulem'; quis enim ieiunius dixit inimicus?*

2. ea] sc. *negotia.*

Statilius et Gabinius] Cic. in Cat. 3. 6. 14 *L. Cassium qui sibi procurationem incendendae urbis depoposcerat,* pro Sull. 19.

53 *cum Catilina egrederetur ad exercitum, Lentulus in urbe relinqueretur, Cassius incendiis, Cethegus caedi praeponeretur, e. q. s.*

duodecim—loca] Plut. Cic. 18 improves upon this ἄνδρας δὲ τάξαντες ἑκατὸν καὶ μέρη τοσαῦτα τῆς Ῥώμης ἕκαστον ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ διεκλήρωσεν κτλ.

filii familiarum] So in the only other place where the expression is used 51. 9 *matres* familiarum. Varro says *si analogias sequi vellent, plures patres familias dicere non debuerunt, sed ut Sisenna scribit, patres familiarum.* Sallust imitated Sisenna, Tacitus Sallust (A. 1. 26, 3, 8 *Tiberius... iuvenem sueta erga filios familiarum nobiles liberalitate auget,* 11. 13 *lege lata saevitiam creditorum coercuit, ne in mortem parentum pecunias filiis familiarum foenori darent*). All other writers from Terence to Quintilian prefer the other form: *patres* (etc.) *familias.*—As regards the rights of the father over the son's property—rights which were always exercised without scruple to the full extent to which they were sanctioned by law, see Maine, Anc. Law p. 141 ff. Poste's Gaius p. 64. The proprietary privileges of the parent were not curtailed in any way till the time of Augustus. The oppressive action of the *patria potestas* in depriving the sons of all power of holding property except at the will of their fathers would explain the eagerness of some of the *filii familiarum* to kill their fathers.

3. **dies prolatando]** *prolatare* is rather a favourite word of Sallust's, but he never uses it except here with an object expressing time. Eussner therefore proposes to read *in dies prolatando* cp. Ep. Mithr. 12 *pretio in dies bellum prolatans.* But *dies* means 'arrangements', 'fixtures', and cp. Tac. A. 6. 42 *diem ex die prolatabant.*

languentibus aliis] *alii* for *reliqui* or *ceteri*; J. 58. 3 *locum cepere paulo quam alii editiorem.*

Ch. 44, 1. **aliter]** = *alioquin* as in 29. 3.

2. **eo]** to Gaul.

5. **quis sim]** Cic. in Cat. 3. 5. 12 gives the letter to the same effect, but in different words. *Erant autem sine nomine, sed ita: Quis sim, scies ex hoc quem ad te misi. Cura ut vir sis et cogita quem in locum sis progressus: vide, quid iam tibi sit necesse, et cura ut omnium tibi auxilia adiungas, etiam infimorum.* Which, if either, is the exact version? Dietsch truly remarks that Cicero does not pretend to be reading from a copy, but quoting apparently from memory (*erant*), while Sallust's words imply that he is giving us the original. On the other hand Halm no less truly says that Sall.

gives it in a more courteous form, while in Cic. it bears in its careless composition which betrays great haste quite the stamp of being in its original shape.—Should one not with Schmalz and Meusel accept the reading of P and V and the mass of MSS *qui* (perhaps also in Cicero)? The distinction that *quis* asks after the name, *qui* after the character was not observed in the speech of the people, perhaps not in that of a Lentulus in a great hurry. Dictys Cret. (Septimius), a constant imitator of Sallust, has: *Acasto obviam venit, eique quinam esset indicat.*

Ch. **45**, 1. **L. Valerio Flacco]** whom Cic. defended *de repetundis* in 695 (59) successfully.

C. Pomptino] was afterwards with Cicero in Cilicia.

ponte Mulvio] the northernmost bridge over the Tiber, over which the 'via Flaminia' went: now *Ponte Molle.*

Allobrogum comitatus] plural: cp. *magno comitatu* Cic. in Cat. 3. 2. 6.

cetera, uti facto opus sit, ita agant permittit] When the dependent clause precedes the historic present on which it depends, it is rare for the dependent verb to be in the present, unless (as is here the case) other historic presents precede. In the only other instance where a present is used other historic presents do not however prepare the way—J. 103. 3 *eos ad Marium, ac deinde, si placeat, Romam legatos ire iubet.* In two other passages a past tense is used—J. 98. 3 *uti suis receptui locus esset, collis duos propinquos inter se occupat;* J. 106. 2 *uti noctu clam secum profugeret rogat atque hortatur.* —S. seems to be the first writer to omit *ut* after *permittere.* The omission is common afterwards in Livy. S. also omits *ut* after *decernere* C. 29. 2 and *persuadere* J. 35. 2—in which he stands alone, and also after *cavere hortari petere praecipere* (J. 28. 1) *litteras mittere.*

2. **homines militares]** cp. 59. 6.

3. **ad id loci]** The phrases *ad id locorum* J. 63. 6 and *post ea loci* J. 102. 1 are used by S. of time.

cito cognito consilio] S. does not mean to imply at the beginning of the chapter *per legatos cuncta edoctus* that the ambassadors were in the secret of the intended arrest at the bridge. Cicero (in Cat. 3. 2. 6) expressly states that they were not—*res praetoribus erat nota solis, ignorabatur a ceteris.* There is no reason, then, to suspect *cito* with Long and others.

4. **dedit]** from *dedo.*

Ch. **46**, 1. **propere]** Cic. in Cat. 3. 3. 6 *ipsi comprehensi ad me, cum iam dilucesceret, deducuntur.*

2. **porro]** 'on the other hand'. J. 25. 7 *timebat iram senatus, ni paruisset legatis: porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiebatur.* Cicero does not represent himself as at all undecided in the matter.

tantis civibus deprehensis quid facto opus esset] *c. deprehensis* is surely abl. abs. Schmalz however prefers to make it dat. after *facto*, as in the phrase *quid huic homini faciam?* Cp. 52. 25 *dubitatis, quid intra moenia deprensis hostibus faciatis?*

perdundae rei publicae] gen. of quality, cp. 6. 7 note. Observe the variety of construction.

3. **Caeparium Terracinensem]** Other, if not all, editors write *Tarracinensem*, which is Cic.'s spelling. *Terracina* is the modern name.

4. **ceteri sine mora veniunt]** Cic. in Cat. 3. 3. 6 *tardissime autem Lentulus venit, credo quod in litteris dandis praeter consuetudinem proxima nocte vigilarat.*

cognito indicio] learning, that is, that information had been given, not what it was.

5. **[in senatum] perducit]** The bracketed words were probably added by some one who did not observe that *in aedem Concordiae* followed *perducit*, no less than they follow *venire*: cp. 35. 6 *nunc Orestillam commendo tuaeque fidei trado.* 36. 5 *quisquam.* Kvíčala attempts but not quite successfully to defend the words. *Senatum* he says does not mean 'the assembled senators' but 'a sitting of the senate', and the following *eo senatum advocat* mean 'for it was there that he called the senate together'.

6. **Volturcium cum legatis introducit]** But says Cicero (in Cat. 3. 4. 8) *introduxi Volturcium sine legatis.*

Ch. **47**, 1. **dissimulare de coniuratione]** instead of the more usual accusative.

omnia uti gesta erant aperit] see 48. 4.

docetque se...nihil amplius scire quam legatos] 'and (with regard to the members of the conspiracy) he informs the senate that he knew no more than the ambassadors did'. To this the natural way of taking these words it is objected that Volturcius could not know how much or how little the ambassadors knew, that in point of fact the ambassadors knew more than he did, that it is absurd that when V. is questioned about himself he should answer for the Allobroges, and finally that any such shuffling excuse is out of place when V. is making a clean breast

of it. I do not think there is much in these objections but Herzog's and Kritz's alternative interpretation will not do—to make *legatos* the object of *scire*, 'that he knew nothing but about the ambassadors' (i.e. that they had a hand in the conspiracy), for there is no parallel for *nihil* used of persons. The interpretation of Jacobs will however give the same sense. He makes *legatos* subject to *in ea coniuratione esse*—'that he *knew* nothing but that the ambassadors were in the conspiracy, though he had *heard* from Gabinius more than once that this and that person were concerned in it'.

2. **ex libris Sibyllinis**] see Cic. in Cat. 3. 4. 9. S. discriminates more accurately between the evidence and Lentulus' interpretation of it, but omits that the year was more fatal by its being the tenth *post virginum absolutionem.*

Cinnam atque Sullam antea] sc. *fuisse* from *esse*. Tac. G. 2 *quoniam qui nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati sint.*

urbis potiri] *potior* is more often constructed with the abl. than the gen. in good writers. Sallust on the other hand uses these two cases indifferently, and once combines them J. 74. 3 *armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti.* Arusian attributes to him the acc. also *cuncta potiundi*, but that is doubtful.

ab incenso Capitolio] 671 (83): Appian B. C. 1. 83, Tac. Hist. 3. 72 *arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello, sed fraude privata.*

illum] in or. obl. for *hunc*.

3. **abdicato magistratu**] Cicero constructs *abdicare se magistratu*: in Cat. 3. 6. 14 *atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, cum se praetura abdicasset, in custodiam traderetur.* Livy uses Sallust's construction often.

in liberis custodiis] Dio 58. 3 *ἄδεσμον φυλακήν.*

4. **P. Lentulo Spintheri**] and *Q. Cornificio*, both energetic members of the aristocratic party. The former was active as consul 697 (57) in agitating for Cicero's recall, the latter was candidate for the consulship with Cicero. Nothing is known of Cn. Terentius.

C. Caesari—M. Crasso] as a guarantee, or to exculpate them?

ante] not by the time of the meeting, but in time to be put *in libera custodia.*—S. omits the votes of thanks to Cicero, Flaccus, and Pomptinus (in Cat. 3. 6. 14).

Ch. **48**, 1. **plebs coniuratione patefacta, quae**] The *quae* of course refers to *plebs* not to the nearer *coniuratione*. Cp. below § 4 *se missum a M. Crasso, qui Catilinae nuntiaret.* J. 6. 3 *opportunitas suae liberorumque aetatis, quae etiam mediocris*

viros spe praedae transvorsos agit.—The third speech against Catiline was delivered after the sitting of the senate.

2. **usu cotidiano et cultu corporis]** concrete. Tac. Ann. 4. 30 *dandosque vitae usus cui vita concederetur. Cultu,* clothes, etc. J. 75. 1 *ubi plerique thesauri filiorumque eius multus pueritiae cultus erat.* Cp. Cic. in Cat. 4. 8. 17.

quippe cui...erant] *quippe qui* occurs about a dozen times in S., though only this once in the Catiline, and always with the indicative. This is not a little remarkable, as even the Comic poets, though they generally put the indicative, use the subjunctive as well. In Cicero it is followed, without exception perhaps, by the subj. Many writers (e. g. Caesar and Curtius) do not use it at all, and others very rarely: it occurs only once in Nepos and in Tacitus. (*Utpote qui*, however, in the one place in which it is used—C. 57. 4—is followed by the subj.)

3. **post eum diem]**=*postridie,* which S. does not use.

4. **ne eum L. et C. aliique—deprehensi terrerent]** 'the arrest of'. For other instances of a participle used attributively with a subst. where we should use a verbal noun, cp. C. 31. 7 *perdita re publica opus esse.* C. 43. 3 *inter haec parata atque decreta*: and in the J. 21. 3 *ante praelium factum.* 55. 2 *ob ea feliciter acta.* 77. 1 *pariter cum capta Thala.*

e periculo] *e* for *ex* is rare in S. C. 61. 8 *e castris,* and in the Histories *e contempto—e locis—e muris.*

5. **hominem nobilem]** "S. uses *vir* in apposition only when he means to praise, and not when (as here) he is mentioning external advantages which do not determine a man's worth" Fabri. Cp. J. 70. 2 *Nabdalsam hominem nobilem, magnis opibus,* 77. 1, with C. 51. 16, 53. 6, J. 22. 2 *P. Scipioni summo viro,* 27. 2 *C. Memmius...vir acer,* 43. 1 *Metello...acri viro.* The curious expression *turpissumi viri* in J. 85. 42 perhaps means 'disgraces to the male sex'. Fabri compares Liv. 33. 28. The explanation of Schmalz, that the Optimates in spite of their effeminacy wish to pass off as *men* when it comes to pocketing rewards, seems rather far-fetched.

tanta vis hominis] C. 8. 3 *scriptorum magna ingenia.*

6. **falsum videri]** *videri* does not denote any uncertainty. Cic. Acad. 2. 47. 146 (*maiores voluerunt*) *qui testimonium diceret, ut* arbitrari *se diceret etiam quod ipse vidisset; quaeque iurati iudices cognovissent, ea non ut esse facta, sed ut* videri *pronuntiarentur.*

potestatem] sc. *iudicandi.*

tantam rem esset mentitus] *mentior* with acc. is a poetical construction which Livy also employs, 10. 40. 4 *auspicium mentiri ausus.*

7. **machinatum**] There is probably no instance of the passive use of this participle before this. It occurs again in two fragments, but adjectivally used H. 2. 23. 3 *cum machinato strepitu tonitruum.* H. 3. 34 *At Lucullum regis cura machinata fames brevi fatigabat.*

appellato Crasso—illius potentia] J. 14. 11 *Iugurtha...* fratre *meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum* eius *sceleris sui praedam fecit.*

Ch. **49**, 1. **neque pretio neque gratia Ciceronem inpellere potuere**] Priscian: *queo, quivi vel quii. S. in C. sed neque pretio neque gratia inpelli quivit.* Septimius (an imitator of Sallust) writes *inlici quivit* (*Cicero*). Is this not sufficient evidence to establish *quivere* against the MSS? But if Priscian (with Sept.) is not sufficient authority for *quivere* when he quotes especially for that word, not much weight is to be attached to his contradicting the MS reading *neque precibus neque gratia neque pretio* in a part of his quotation which is immaterial to his purpose. The fact that the two words *pretium* and *gratia* are often coupled, not only in other authors, but in S. himself (he writes, *pretium aut gratiam*: *pretio aut gratia*: *pecuniae aut gratiae*), is no great objection to his strengthening the phrase in one instance, but does explain very well why Priscian (quoting from memory) should give the words as he does. Dietsch adds that *precibus* is contained in *gratia.* They are not synonyms, however, and the meaning may well be 'neither by entreaties, nor by offer of services, nor by money down'—a climax. That Sallust should speak with some emphasis here in clearing Caesar—the one aim of his book according to Mommsen—is not unnatural. (Of late authorities, however, Kvíčala alone as far as I know defends the MS reading. Kortte and Kritz, however, found no difficulty in it.)

2. **uterque—exercebant**] *uterque* here only in S. with plural (30. 4 *ci utrique ad urbem imperatores erant*). The construction however is not rare in Livy. Caesar has B. C. 3. 30 *uterque eorum ex castris exercitum educunt* (and elsewhere?).

Catulus] When the office of pontifex maximus fell vacant owing to the death of Q. Metellus Pius at the end of 690 (64) or beginning of the next year, Labienus (trib. 691) got the Lex Domitia of 650 (104) which Sulla had repealed, restored. It gave the election to the tribes. The election took place on 6 Mar. 691 (63). Ov. Fast. 3. 415. Suet. Jul. 13 *pontificatum maximum petit, non sine profusissima largitione; in qua reputans magnitudinem aeris alieni, cum mane ad comitia descenderet, praedixisse matri osculanti fertur, domum se nisi pontificem non reversurum. Atque ita potentissimos duos*

competitores multumque et aetate et dignitate antecedentes superavit, ut plura ipse in eorum tribubus suffragia quam uterque in omnibus tulerit. Q. Lutatius Catulus was consul 676 (78), censor 689 (65), and (Vell. 2. 43) *omnium confessione princeps senatus.* Catulus probably was getting on for 60, Caesar was born in 654 (100) or more probably acc. to Mommsen in 652 (102), and was therefore 37 or 39. The expressions *extrema aetate* and *adulescentulo* are therefore much exaggerated —by the disappointed Catulus.

3. **res autem opportuna videbatur**] 'The state of Caesar's affair...to their project', or 'their project (of getting Caesar suspected) seemed favoured by circumstances'.

privatim—publice] go with *e. liberalitate* and *m. muneribus* respectively, and not with *debebat.* His debts amounted to 1300 talents before he filled any office. Plut. Caes. 5. His extravagant shows, as curule aedile, much increased them.

4. **ementiundo**] 'lying roundly'.

dicerent] i.e. *quae, ut dicebant, audissent.* Cic. Verr. 5. 7. 17 *nominat iste servum quem magistrum pecoris esse diceret; eum dicit coniurasse.* Cic. Phil. 2. 4. 7 *at etiam litteras quas me sibi misisse diceret, recitavit* (cp. 30. 1. *Saenius—litteras recitavit, quas Faesulas adlatas sibi dicebat*).

conflaverant] with reference to the following *usque adeo e. q. s.*

egredienti] from the sitting 5 Dec. It was in fact his speech on that occasion which excited the wrath of the *equites. Ex senatu*, this is the only place in which S. uses *egredior* with the prep. *ex*: elsewhere it takes the simple ablative.

Ch. **50**, 1. **dum haec in senatu aguntur**] S. returns quite unconcernedly (and awkwardly, considering the preceding words *egredienti ex senatu*) to 48. 6.

praemia] Cic. in Cat. 4. 3. 5 says *praemia amplissima.* What the ambassadors got is not known. As to Volturcius see 30. 6. The Allobroges, at any rate, did not get their grievances redressed, and revolted next year.

liberti] not *libertini* because *liberti Lentuli.* In reference to his manumitter a freedman is called *libertus* not *libertinus.*

opifices atque servitia] See Cic. in Cat. 4. 8 (§ 17 *auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas e. q. s.*)

partim] when in a sentence that has two members the *partim* etc. is put only with the second member, the *partim* denotes the smaller number (Kritz). J. 31. 10 *incedunt per ora*

vostra magnifici, sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes.

multitudinum] rare in plural, 'gangs'.

soliti erant] *soliti* is apparently an adj.

2. **lectos et exercitatos orabat (in audaciam)**] The participles are to be taken as adjectives. Kritz puts *in audaciam* after *exercitatos* with the later MSS, explaining 'trained to do deeds of daring'. But at least *ad* and not *in* should then be used. Kvíčala thinks *in audaciam* cannot be a gloss and must be explained in some way: he proposes to take it with *grege facto*, 'after forming a compact body to give each other courage'. Cp. Liv. 40. 15 *ille ut me in securitatem suam occidas postulat*—and for late position of *ut* Liv. 22. 9. 11 *omnia ea ut mature fiant curare iubet*, etc.

grege facto] Cp. the expression *gregarius miles*.

3. **dispositis praesidiis**] The meeting was held in the temple of Concord, on the clivus Capitolinus. Cic. ad Att. 2. 1. 7 *equitatus ille, quem ego in clivo Capitolino te signifero ac principe collocaram.* Dio 37. 35 τὸν μὲν δῆμον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ὁρκῶσαι ἐς τὸν κατάλογον, εἰ δή τις χρεία στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο, ἐκέλευσεν. Cic. in Cat. 4. 7. 14 *plenum est forum, plena templa circum forum, pleni omnes aditus huius loci ac templi* (the doors of the *curia* were always left open that the public might follow the debates).

quid de eis fieri placeat, qui in custodiam traditi erant] If the question was so put, Silanus *egreditur relationem* in making any proposal about those not already arrested.

paulo ante] probably on the day before (4 Dec.)—the sitting in which rewards were assigned to the envoys Cic. in Cat. 4. 3. 5.

4. **primus sententiam rogatus**] Silanus was husband of Cato's stepsister Servilia, who was mother by a former marriage of M. Brutus the *percussor Caesaris.*—The custom of calling upon the consul-designate first seems to have been an old one (Cic. Phil. 5. 13. 35 *sed qui ordo in sententiis rogandis servari solet, eundem tenebo in viris fortibus honorandis. a Bruto, igitur, consule designato, more maiorum capiamus exordium.*) The reason is given by Appian B. C. 2. 5 ὧδε γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ὁ μέλλων ὑπατεύσειν πρῶτος ἐσφέρει γνώμην, ὡς αὐτός, οἶμαι, πολλὰ τῶν κυρουμένων ἐργασόμενος, καὶ ἐκ τοῦδε εὐβουλότερόν τε καὶ εὐλαβέστερον ἐνθυμησόμενος περὶ ἑκάστου.—Silanus was followed by a number of consulars, all of whom spoke in favour of death. Their names are given in Cic. ad Att. 12. 21. 1, Phil. 2. 5. 12. Immediately after the consuls-designate would come Q. Lutatius

Catulus the *princeps senatus*. Plutarch (Cic. 21, Caes. 8) must be wrong in putting Catulus' speech after that of Caesar and perhaps after Cato's, but it may be that the Catulus of whom he speaks is a son. [The custom of calling upon the consuls-designate first for their opinion would apply of course only to the latter half of the year. The old rule that at other times the *princeps senatus* should first be appealed to was at this time often departed from by a presiding consul who wished to do honour to any consular. Cicero (ad Att. 1. 13. 2) complains in Jan. 693 (61) that the consul preferred his brother the *pacificatorem Allobrogum* to him, but consoles himself by the reflection—*ille secundus in dicendo locus habet auctoritatem paene principis et voluntatem non nimis devinctam beneficio consulis*. It was usual however for the president to adhere to the order which he adopted on the 1st Jan. throughout the year.]

in custodiis] i.e. *in libera custodia* in different houses.

P. Furio] has not been mentioned by S. before: cp. Cic. in Cat. 3. 6. 14 *P. Furium, qui est de eis colonis, quos Faesulas L. Sulla deduxit.* He is perhaps then the *Faesulanum quendam* (59. 3) who commanded the left wing of Catiline's army at Pistoria.

supplicium sumundum] He afterwards explained his words away. Suetonius (Jul. 14) says that the effect of Caesar's speech was such, *ut D. Silanum consulem designatum non piguerit sententiam suam, quia mutare turpe erat, interpretatione lenire, velut gravius atque ipse sensisset exceptam.* Plut. Cic. 21 *ὥστε καὶ τὸν Σιλανὸν αὖθις μεταβαλλόμενον παραιτεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν, ὡς οὐδ' αὐτὸς εἴποι θανατικὴν γνώμην, ἐσχάτην γὰρ ἀνδρὶ βουλευτῇ Ῥωμαίων εἶναι δίκην τὸ δεσμωτήριον.*

decreverat] Sallust's favourite use of the pluperfect comes in very awkwardly here—not before the turn came to Caesar, but, as *dixerat* and *censuerat* below, before the division. These pluperfects led Appian to suppose that Nero spoke before Caesar, but that does not seem to have been the case, see below.

pedibus in sententiam Ti. Neronis iturum se dixerat] (It was allowable, then, for a previous speaker to rise again to give a short explanation.) Silanus said that he would vote for Nero's proposal, when the time came for a division. The presiding magistrate (one of the consuls, or, in their absence, the *praetor urbanus*) then gave out *Qui hoc censetis, illuc transite; qui alia omnia, in hanc partem*, and, after counting the numbers, *Haec pars maior videtur*, unless the senators were unanimous (*sine ulla varietate*). [It has been questioned whether, when there was a *perrogatio*, there was also a division.

For the *pedibus ire* is often merely descriptive of the custom, which must have given great animation to the debates, of clustering round a speaker with whose views you agreed. The senators, who were so low down on the list that they did not often get a chance of speaking, availed themselves of this method of influencing the debate; and even members who had already spoken, or others who chose to waive their right to speak, left their seats for the purpose. Was this running division the only division? The question is raised by Gellius (14. 7). He found Varro, in the Manual of Procedure which he drew up for Pompeius, laying it down *senatus consultum fieri duobus modis; aut per discessionem, si consentiretur, aut, si res dubia esset, per singulorum sententias exquisitas;* while two other learned and contemporary authorities maintained, *nullum senatus consultum fieri posse non discessione facta, quia in omnibus senatus consultis, etiam in iis, quae per relationem fierent, discessio esset necessaria.* Perhaps Varro did not mean that in the second case there was no division. But if Varro is rightly understood, these authorities cannot have been ignorant of what was actually done, the question in dispute must have been as to what methods were constitutional. The practice of different presidents may have varied; it may have depended on how far the *rogatio* was carried (for the presiding consul could stop where he liked), or on the course the debate took. That a speaker was not tied down to the opinion he might express in his speech is clear (cp. Cic. Phil. 11. 6. 15 *dixit tamen, si quis eorum, qui post se rogati essent, graviorem sententiam dixisset, in eam se iturum*); and, in a meeting where opinion fluctuated so much as in the present case, it must surely at least have been necessary to count up the adherents of the speakers who had brought forward definite proposals, as matters stood at the close of the debate. In this place does not Silanus anticipate a division? It would not have been necessary for him to *say* that he was going to stand by Nero, it would have been enough to go at once and join the group of Nero's supporters.]

quod] 'because he had'? surely *qui* is right.

praesidiis additis] Wirz states that P has *abditis.* Jordan perhaps did not note it, because mistakes between *b* and *d* are of frequent occurrence in the MS, e.g. J. 8. 2 *adduxit* for *abduxit* etc. At any rate, *additis* is nearer than *abductis* (which Wirz reads) to *abditis*; and is otherwise I think preferable. Appian of other authorities alone speaks of Nero's proposal, and he gives it rather differently, perhaps more correctly B. C. 2. 5 *ὁ Νέρων ἐδικαίου φυλάττειν αὐτοὺς, μέχρι Κατιλίναν ἐξέλωσι καὶ τὰ ἀκριβέστατα μάθωσιν.* It is clear at any rate that

it was a proposal for adjournment; and is it not more probable that he should urge his amendment on the ground that sufficient measures had not yet been taken for the public safety, than on the ground that the senate was being overawed by Cicero's equites? If he took the former line he would be likely to meet with support (Cic. in Cat. 4. 7. 14 *iaciuntur enim voces, quae perveniunt ad aures meas, eorum qui vereri videntur, ne non habeam satis praesidii ad ea quae vos statueritis hodierno die transigunda*). But to have objected to Cicero's guards would have been to do what Caesar even ventured only to insinuate very delicately (51. 19 and 36), and would surely have left him no supporters—least of all Silanus. Nero seems to have spoken after Cicero and before Cato. Cicero says (in Cat. 4. 4. 7) *video adhuc duas esse sententias, unam D. Silani ...alteram C. Caesaris.* Cicero did little to shake the impression which Caesar had made, and the consul's friends were inclined so far, for Cicero's own sake, to vote against death. It is probable, then, that Nero made himself the mouthpiece of the murmurs which reached Cicero's ears. After Cato's speech, on the other hand, such a proposal would not have found a hearing; and if Nero (who was, by the way, grandfather of the emperor Tiberius) was, as Willems assumes, praetorius, he would of course have precedence of Cato, who was tribune designate.

5. **Caesar, ubi ad eum ventum est**] It has been said that the consul-designate was called upon before the consulares. It is probable that the same custom obtained with regard to the other ranks, that Caesar therefore who was now praetor designate was called upon before the praetorii (e.g. Nero), and that Cato who was tribune (pl.) designate had precedence of tribunicii.

Ch. **51**, 1. **omnis homines...qui**] Notice the similarity of the beginning of Caesar's speech with that of the Catiline itself.

patres conscripti] S. makes Adherbal begin his speech to the senate thus (J. 14. 1) *Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus e. q. s.* In the wrong position he gives to *P. c.* he shows a foreigner's ignorance of Roman usage. [The title is generally understood as Livy explains it (2. 1. 11) *patres et conscripti*, the *conscripti* being plebeians. But it appears doubtful whether the title *P. c.* was not of earlier origin, and in use before the plebeian members were enrolled. Ihne explains it 'patricians enrolled on the senate list' (the *album senatorium*), in distinction to the whole body of patricians: and Willems, taking *patres=senatores* (see C. 6. 6), 'the enrolled fathers,' though there were no *patres* that were not *conscripti*.]

2. **lubidini simul et usui paruit]** Corn. Nep. Alcibiades 4 *plusque irae suae quam communi utilitati paruisse. Usui* his *true* interest. For the tense of *paruit* cp. 11. 3 *concupivit.*

4. **qui reges—consuluerint]** V has *quae—consuluerunt.* Either *qui* or *quae* will do well enough (for *quae* with *consulo* giving the result of the deliberation cp. 52. 35 *neque parari neque consuli quicquam potest occulte*). Many editors prefer *quae*, because, they say, the point is not *who* they were but *what* they did. But why should not Caesar, continuing from *Omnis homines qui e. q. s.* remark 'I could tell you of many a warning example of people who have not kept their minds free from passion'? It is a question rather of MS authority however, and V probably as usual puts *quae—consuluerunt*, to assimilate the earlier part of the sentence to *quae—fecere* at the close. But such variety as P gives is very characteristic of Sallust, and *consuluerunt* can hardly be right; the position of *patres conscripti* if nothing else shows that an indirect question is meant.

recte atque ordine] a phrase often heard in the senate. Liv. 28. 39 *suos imperatores recte et ordine et ex voluntate senatus fecisse.* For the hendiadys cp. J. 14. 25 *per scelus et sanguinem*, J. 40. 5 *ex rumore et lubidine plebis*, J. 66. 2 *ludum et lasciviam*, J. 73. 1 *parat festinatque.* For the coupling of adv. and subst. cp. J. 113. 1 *dolo an vere*, H. 1. 65 *furtim ac celeritate.*

5. The Rhodians were rewarded for the help they gave Rome in the war with Antiochus 565 (189) by the gift of the greater part of Caria and Lycia. Not long after—in the Third Macedonian War—a party at Rhodes proposed to take sides against Rome; but the Rhodians remained neutral notwithstanding, and endeavoured to bring about a peace between the combatants and sent ambassadors to Rome who ventured to talk about declaring war upon the party which refused to make peace. The Romans were indignant. There was a talk of making war upon them. The Rhodians did all they could to propitiate, executed some, and sent to the scaffold others of the Macedonian party and so forth. War was not declared against them, but Lycia and Caria were taken from them and their trade hopelessly crippled. A curious instance to be quoted by one who was *mansuetudine et misericordia clarus factus* (54. 2). Sallust probably introduces it because Cato the Censor defended the Rhodians, urging that it was unfair to punish for intentions which were never carried out (fragments of the speech are preserved in Gellius 6. (7.) 3). It would be well to remind the stern Cato of the generosity of his great-grandfather.

infida atque adversa] not *et*, so that *magna atque magnifica* and *infida atque adversa* should contrast—to think that Rhodes should have been tempted by the greatness and splendour which it owed to Rome to prove faithless and opposed to its benefactor!

6. **et in pace et per indutias**] for the change of preposition cp. 52. 15 *in urbe et non per totam Italiam.* J. 14. 13 *in omnibus bellis...per otium.*

per occasionem] they never used the chances they had = *quamvis occasio non deesset.*

7. **providendum est...ne...valeat...neu...consulatis**] We have here acc. to Jordan (K. Beiträge, p. 348) a suggestion of an old stereotyped parliamentary turn which appears more fully in three places in the orations of the Histories; Or. Mac. 13 *quod ego vos moneo quaesoque ut animadvortatis neu... appelletis.* Ep. Pomp. 8 *quod ego vos moneo quaesoque ut animadvortatis neu cogatis.* Or. Phil. 9 *quod ego vos oro atque obsecro...ut animadvortatis neu patiamini.* So too in C. 33. 5 *obtestamur consulatis ... neve ... imponatis.* Cp. a letter of Lepidus to the Senate (ap. Cic. Ep. 10. 35) *in qua re ego vos, P. C. oro atque obsecro ut...rei publicae consulatis neve misericordiam nostram...sceleris loco ponatis.* Observe also the zeugma; *magis irae (obsequamini) quam famae consulatis.* Cp. J. 46. 8 *pacem (agens) an bellum gerens.* J. 14. 4 *(quibus) cogor prius oneri quam (possum) usui esse.* J. 85. 47 *meque vosque in omnibus rebus iuxta geram* and in H. *ut res magis quam verba gererentur.*

8. **digna poena pro factis eorum**] J. 62. 8 *ex mala conscientia digna timere.* For *dignus pro* cp. Ter. Hecyr. 209 *an quicquam pro istis factis dignum te dici potest?* The construction seems to have been peculiar to the language of the people, says Schmalz.

9. **composite atque magnifice**] so Cato says (52. 13) *bene et composite C. Caesar...disseruit,* and Marius J. 85. 31 *non sunt conposita verba mea: parvi id facio...illis artificio opus est.* Cornificius ad Her. 4. 12. 18 *compositio est verborum constructio aequabiliter perpolita.* Perhaps *Sallust* in what follows is thinking of Cic. in Cat. 4. 6. 11. *Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem...subito uno incendio concidentem; cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque insepultos acervos civium e. q. s.*

matres familiarum] Cp. Cic. in Cat. 4. 6. 11 *lamentationem matrum* familias.

conlubuisset] The MS authority is strongly in favour of *conlubuissent*. Indeed the sing. seems to be only in one MS. Jordan produces Augustine, who quotes the passage, in favour of the singular (but the MSS vary even there), and the author of the Pseudo-Ciceronian invective against Sallust *quae alteri facere collibuisset*. But it must be noted that the writer of these invectives discriminated between the styles of Cicero and Sallust to some extent (for instance he is careful not to use *cur* which Sallust never uses in Sallust's invective, but uses it twice in Cicero's). And the *facere* alters the case: here it is impossible even to supply an infinitive to govern *quae*. The plural is also perhaps more according to rule. "*Libere collibere licere*," says Neue (Formenlehre, 2. 626), "cannot have a substantive for subject, but may have a neuter pronoun or adjective of quantity. If this subject is plural the verb is so also." Cp. Suet. Jul. 20 *cetera item quae cuique libuissent dilargitus est*, and cp. J. 49. 2 *quae ab imperatore decuerint omnia suis provisa*. S. uses *conlubet* for *lubet* here only. It is perhaps a conversational word. Horace for instance has Sat. 1. 3. 6 *si collibuisset*, but Od. 4. 3. 20 *si libeat*. Cicero uses *conlibitum est* (Ep. 15. 16. 2, N. D. 1. 38. 108).

caedem incendia fieri, postremo armis cadaveribus, cruore atque luctu] Wecklein would read *ruinis* for *armis*, so that, as *cadaveribus* refers to *caedem*, *ruinis* should answer to *incendia*. But surely *armis* is required to match *cruore*, as *luctu* matches *cadaveribus*.—*cruore atque luctu*, for the juxtaposition of concrete and abstract cp. 6. 3 *civibus moribus agris*. Tac. A. 1. 55 *crimina et innoxios discerneret*.

10. **illa oratio**] i.e. *oratio illorum qui ante me sententias dixerunt*.

11. **non ita est**] for the more usual *non est ita*. J. 85. 42 *verum non ita est*.

iniuriae suae] the possessive pronoun with *iniuria* is always objective in S. Cp. Or. Phil. 10 *quae (arma) ille advorsum divina et humana omnia cepit, non pro sua aut quorum simulat iniuria sed legis ac libertatis subvortundae*.

gravius...habuere] Plancus (Cic. Ep. 10. 17. 2) writes *fratrem meum...graviter se habuisse antea tibi scripsi* (to be poorly). But I do not think that *graviter habere* = *aegre ferre* ('to take a thing heavily'—as in older English) is elsewhere found, though *aegre habere* (Liv. 7. 5. 5) occurs. The verb *habere* is a favourite of Sallust's; cp. just below *vitam habent* for *v. agere* (cp. 4. 1) and J. 99. 1 *silentium haberi iubet*. See note on 11. 5 *habuerat*.

12. **fama atque fortuna eorum pares sunt**] See note on 20. 2 *virtus fidesque*. Perhaps the feminine is used here because *fortuna* is concrete. (Constans proposes to strike out *eorum* (see next line) and to make *f. atque f.* ablative.)

13. **neque studere neque odisse**] i.e. without respect of persons: *studere* absolutely 'to show partiality' is rare, and is perhaps old-fashioned. Cato has it in this sense.

14. **in imperio**] abstract for concrete.

15. **paulo saevior**] The reading *saevior* is I think only just possible—'if it were a little too—what people would call 'cruel'' (§ 14). Herzog well remarks, that *saevior* contains a logical contradiction to *paulo*. P has *sevior*, and the omission of a middle syllable, when another word is thus produced, is common enough in that MS, e.g. *libertate* (*liberalitate*) *suum* (*summum*) *primum* (*plurimum*) *honestas* (*honestatos*) etc., the error being sometimes left, sometimes emended by the writer or corrector. *Severior* should therefore be read. (It is said that *saevus* does not occur in Caesar.)

17. **aliena a re publica**] 40. 5 note.

18. **nam profecto aut metus aut iniuria te subegit...genus poenae novom decernere**] The argument is not put as clearly as it might be. There is intended to be a strong emphasis on *novom* it seems. 'For it *is* an unprecedented punishment, which only alarm or indignation can account for your proposing'. *De timore* takes up the *metus*, and *de poena* the *iniuria*. There is no place for alarm, and no punishment—certainly not death—is proportionate to the offence.

consulem designatum] and as such, as Appian says (see 50. 4 note, p. 137), εὐβουλότερόν τε καὶ εὐλαβέστερον ἐνθυμησόμενος περὶ ἑκάστου.

19. **cum praesertim**] The words occur in that order always in the Catiline and Jugurtha. In the Histories *praesertim cum* is put instead.

20. Something of this kind was certainly said by Caesar. Cic. in Cat. 4. 4. 7 seems to endorse the view of the chief pontiff. Indeed, when not philosophizing, Cicero adopted or ridiculed the popular belief as suited his purpose. Cp. p. Clu. 61. 171 *nam nunc quidem quid tandem illi mali mors attulit? Nisi forte ineptis fabulis ducimur, ut existimemus illum apud inferos impiorum supplicia perferre*, with Phil. 14. 12. 32 *illi igitur impii quos cecidistis etiam ad inferos poenas parricidii luent e.q.s.* (cp. Lucr. 3. 830).

possum equidem dicere] 'I may be permitted to say, what is the simple truth'. *Equidem*—Sallust employs 'this most

sensitive and individual of particles' eleven times, and always in speeches or letters, never when he is speaking in his own person. Caesar himself uses *equidem* twice, also in speeches:—B.G. 2. 33. 14 *equidem me Caesaris militem dici volui, vos me imperatoris nomine appellavistis*; and ap. Gell. 13. 3. 5 *equidem mihi videor pro nostra necessitate, non labore, non opera, non industria defuisse.* And Cicero employs the particle the more often the more conversational the tone of his writing, more often in the confidential letters to Atticus than in the to a great extent formal *ad Familiares*, and in other works chiefly in dialogue. With Sallust it is a flower of parliamentary oratory.—The eleven instances in S. are the following: here; C. 52. 16 *quare vanum equidem hoc consilium est*; C. 58. 4 *scitis equidem milites*; C. 52. 11 *iam pridem equidem nos vera vocabula rerum amisimus*; C. 51. 15 *equidem ego sic existumo*; J. 10. 6 *equidem ego*; J. 85. 26 *equidem ego*; Or. Phil. 6 *equidem a principio...maturandum putabam*; ep. Pomp. 4 *equidem fateor*; ep. Mith. 13 *equidem...bellum cepi*; id. 16 *scio equidem.* The reader will have noticed that, while in the Catiline and Jugurtha (the present instance is perhaps not an exception) *equidem* is used as a strengthened form of *quidem*, in the Histories a change has come about, and that *equidem = ego quidem.* The former use occurs in Plautus and again in Apuleius' Novel (but not in his other works) so that it clearly was so used in conversation, but perhaps not in refined conversation. In Terence it is employed as always in Cicero = *ego quidem.* This use of the word the authority of Cicero made the universal use in cultivated literature, and Sallust with the rest, in spite of his affection for archaisms and occasional colloquialisms, felt the influence. (Jordan *Krit. Beit.* pp. 314—336.)

22. **an quia lex Porcia vetat**] Perhaps 'the Porcian legislation', for there were three laws of that name (Cic. de Republ. 2. 31. 54), the first possibly introduced in 556 (198) by M. Porcius Cato, afterwards the Censor. The *lex Porcia* is spoken of sometimes as if it did no more than abolish *scourging* (here it seems, and in Cic. p. Rab. p. r. 4. 12 *Porcia lex virgas ab omnium civium Romanorum corpore amovit*; Liv. 10. 9. 4 *Porcia tamen lex sola pro tergo civium lata videtur*). But it did more than that: re-enacting the earlier *leges Valeriae*, it provided that no magistrate could scourge or put to death a Roman citizen if he appealed from the magistrate to the people. That the *lex Porcia* is produced mainly as putting an end to scourging is due to the fact that the *lex Sempronia* (of C. Gracchus) re-enacted the rest of the *l. Porcia*, adding only an extension of liability to those who took part with the magistrate in violation of the rights of citizens. And the *quaes-*

tiones perpetuae indirectly abolished the death penalty altogether (see Maine's *Ancient Law*, ch. 10), for they could inflict no more than outlawry (*aquae et ignis interdictio*)—practically, that is, exile. It is to this practical abolition of the death penalty that Caesar alludes in the following words—*at aliae leges...exilium permitti iubent*, and in § 40. That Sallust is right in not making Caesar allude to the *lex Sempronia* (by name at any rate), however apposite it may be to the present occasion, is not improbable. The *l. Porcia* was, so far as it concerned scourging, a law of generally recognized validity, while the *l. Sempronia* was extremely unpalatable to the senate; and more than that, Caesar by his presence and proposal laid himself open to the charge that he was infringing that law: cp. Cic. in Cat. 4. 5. 10 *Video de istis, qui se populares haberi volunt, abesse non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat...At vero C. Caesar intellegit, legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam, qui autem rei publicae sit hostis eum civem nullo modo esse posse; denique ipsum latorem Semproniae legis iniussu populi poenas rei publicae dependisse.* ('The argument of Cicero, that the men were *hostes* not *cives*, was a mere evasion; for their true character had only been prejudged by the *senatus consultum ultimum*, the constitutional validity of which had been recently called in question in the case of Rabirius, which was a moral defeat for the senate'. Heitland's edition of the p. Rabirio, p. 112, where a full discussion of the *leges Porciae* etc. will be found.)

24. **in minore negotio**] *Negotium* is often used by S. = *res*, cp. J. 6. 2 *Micipsa...vehementer eo negotio permotus* (the growing importance of Jugurtha); J. 58. 7 *infecto negotio*; J. 107. 6 *ea res uti in tali negotio probata.*

neglegeris] Jordan reads in the same way J. 40. 1, *neglegisset* (though P has *neglexisset*), Or. Lep. 23 *intellegerint* (V *intellegerent*), J. 6. 2 *intellegit* (? present). S. often uses the other form of the perfect of *intellego*, but that is not against this reading. It is strange, however, that no grammarian notices these old forms.

25. **tempus dies**] *tempus*, time with its inevitable changes of circumstances. *dies*, time in its inevitable advance. Livy also puts the words together 2. 45. 2 *diem tempusque forsitan ipsum leniturum iras.*

26. **ceterum**] 'but', not a Ciceronian use.

27. **omnia mala exempla ex rebus bonis orta sunt. sed**] *Ex rebus bonis* would mean 'from a prosperous condition of

affairs': but it is questionable whether S. would then have used *ex*; cp. Hist. 1. 9 *at discordia et avaritia atque ambitio et cetera secundis rebus oriri sueta mala*, and the *novom illud exemplum* below shows clearly enough that S. must have written *ex bonis* (sc. *exemplis*). If, however, it is felt that *rebus*, which has clearly given the writers of MSS some trouble, must be accounted for, Klimscha's *re bonis* ('good under the then circumstances') will remove that difficulty. *Exemplum* seems to be used without any connotation of warning example or precedent (Nägelsbach p. 39 quotes Liv. 25. 33 *exempla haec vere pro documentis habenda*), and to mean no more than 'exceptional proceeding'. (Klimscha quotes Cic. de imp. Pomp. §§ 61. 63.) The meaning then will be—All bad exceptional measures arise from such as were in their time good. A further difficulty confronts us in *sed*, for the two sentences are not, it is clear, opposed. Schmalz explains 'the precedents are at first good, but when etc.', and various other explanations and corrections are proposed, but none I think are satisfactory but that of R. Schöll. He proposes to read *sunt: et*. The examples given of the Thirty Tyrants and of Sulla are, as he justly says, examples of a policy passing into abuse in the *same* hands, and not of a policy passing into other and unworthy hands. The two sentences should be regarded as parallel and coordinate. The doings of the Greek tyrants and of Sulla are first quoted as proofs of *omnia...orta sunt*, and in § 35 what is said in the second part of the sentence *et ubi... transfertur* is applied to the present case.

ignaros [eius]] *eius*, i.e. *imperi*, as *ignarus belli* J. 96. 1; but *ignarus* might well stand absolutely as in J. 91. 1, but it would then rather mean 'people who did not know what they were doing'.

ab dignis et idoneis] *idoneus* = fit to suffer—a rare use.

28. **inposuere]** without indirect object, *devictis Atheniensibus* being abl. abs. J. 100. 3 *simul consul quasi nullo inposito omnia providere*. For the history see Xen. Hellen. 2. 3. 2 etc.

29. **ea populus laetari]** Cp. Cic. Ep. 7. 1. 1 *utrumque laetor*.

32. **Damasippum]** L. Junius Brutus D. praetor 672 (82), when, under the orders of the younger Marius, he slaughtered many of the senators of Sulla's party. He was afterwards among the three thousand or more prisoners taken by Sulla at the battle at the Porta Collina, who were cut down, on the third day after the battle, in the Campus Martius.

cum...iussit, quis non factum eius laudabat?] The *cum* is surely temporal. Some commentators, however, make the *cum* =*quod*—an old-fashioned use which maintained itself in common speech after *gratulor* etc. Cic. Ep. 9. 14. 3 '*o mihi Cicero' inquit 'gratulor tibi, cum tantum vales apud Dolabellam'*. J. 102. 5 *Rex Bocche, magna laetitia nobis est, cum te...di monuere, uti* e. q. s.

33. **postremo]** 'or even'. J. 10. 2 *postremo, quod difficillumum inter mortalis est, gloria invidiam vicisti.*

vas aut vestimentum] Perhaps from Cato (Gell. 13. 23. 1) *neque mihi aedificatio neque vasum neque vestimentum ullum est manupretiosum.*

35. **atque ego]** As has been said above, we have here the application of the general observation of § 27—that a custom good in itself and when it was first originated often becomes an abuse in the hands of unworthy successors. Note *alio tempore, alio consule*, and *hoc exemplo.* For the position of *ego* after the first word of the sentence cp. § 41 *Hanc ego*; 52. 2 *Longe mihi*; 52. 36 *Quare ego*; 53. 2 *Sed mihi*; J. 4. 9 *Verum ego*; and Marius begins his speech J. 85. 1 (as was the habit of the elder Cato) *Scio ego.*

36. **hoc exemplo]** Cic. Ep. 4. 3. 1 *quod exemplo fit id etiam iure fieri putant.*

37. **quo minus aliena instituta...imitarentur]** *Quo minus* is only used twice again by S. § 41 (where *causam* is a preventive reason), J. 38. 8.—Polyb. 6. 25. 11 ἀγαθοὶ γάρ, εἰ καί τινες ἕτεροι, μεταλαβεῖν ἔθη καὶ ζηλῶσαι τὸ βέλτιον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι.

38. **arma atque tela militaria ab Samnitibus]** The *veru*, Verg. A. 7. 665 *veruque Sabello*, and the *scutum*: that was the general opinion, though the *scutum* according to Mommsen came from the Greeks (σκῦτος).

insignia magistratuum ab Tuscis pleraque sumpserunt] Liv. 1. 8. 3 *me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse, quibus et apparitores et hoc genus* (lictors) *ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, et...ductum placet.*

pleraque] 'in great numbers' not 'most'; as often in Livy and Tacitus: cp. C. 16. 4 *plerique Sullani milites* with 28. 4 *non nullos ex Sullanis coloniis.* C. 36. 5 *plerosque civium animos* is clearly only 'many'. J. 6. 1 *pleraque tempora in venando agere*: hunting was only one of many other outdoor exercises in which Jugurtha indulged. In S. it is perhaps only when *plerique* stands in the same case as the subst. that it has this contracted meaning.

39. **eodem illo tempore**] A somewhat vague reference.

Graeciae morem imitati] Döderlein objected to these words as placed in the MSS 'What is the point of the introductory remarks about the receptivity of the Romans for good institutions of foreign lands, if the *lex Porcia* is not to be represented as a foreign importation?' But the transposition recommended by him,—to after *coepere tum* § 40, would give us there an unendurably awkward sentence. Dietsch, who urges this among other objections to the suggested transposition, yet for his part regards the words as a gloss. 'The ancestors' he says 'will then not appear to be so very wise after all'. But if the words are struck out, then the remarks about Roman receptivity will indeed be irrelevant. Clearly the words must be explained as they stand.—*Omnia mala exempla ex bonis orta sunt.* Capital punishment, for instance, is not a bad institution, if it can be kept from abuse. Our ancestors are to be praised for introducing, and still more for abolishing it, when it was found to be abused. And between the lines no doubt Caesar is attempting to excite prejudice against the punishment of death by describing it as an un-Roman and exotic practice—an *argumentum ad Catonem.*

Whether the words are left as they are or transposed they will be equally untrue. But it was supposed that the Twelve Tables were drawn up under Greek influence (Liv. 3. 31. 8) and of them likely enough S. was thinking—he was not infallible. Schöll suggests that S. borrowed the idea from Varro. Servius (Verg. A. 7. 176)...*ut Varro docet in libris de gente populi Romani in quibus dicit quid a quaque traxerint gente per imitationem.* The book was published in B.C. 43, the Cat. in the year after.

40. **circumveniri innocentes, alia huiuscemodi fieri coepere**] The construction of a passive infinitive with the active of *coepi*—a construction unknown to Cicero and Caesar, and rare in Livy, though usual in Tacitus—occurs occasionally in S. J. 41. 10 *moveri civitas et dissensio civilis quasi permixtio terrae oriri coepit.* C. 12. 1 *duci coepit.* J. 92. 1 *haberi coepit.* Observe that a genuine passive is in none of these instances used by itself. With regard to another point as to the construction of *coepi*, it is not used in the Catiline without an infinitive, though often elsewhere (J. 62. 7 *cum primum deditio coepit*)—a use of the word avoided by Cicero.

aliaeque leges...quibus legibus] A redundancy of expression common in Caesar himself, and introduced by S. perhaps in imitation of his style, though it serves the purpose of limiting the *quibus* to the *aliae leges*, excluding the *lex Porcia*. Cp. B.G.

1\. 49. 1 *ultra eum locum, quo in loco Germani consederant... castris idoneum locum delegit, acieque instructa ad eum locum venit.*

42\. **ea**] Referring to *imperium*—what is summed up in one notion in *imperium* is split up into its elements in *ea*. The construction is repeated below 52. 10.

43\. **sed ita censeo**] Compare the conclusion of Cato's speech (52. 36 *quare ego ita censeo* e. q. s.) and of that of Philippus (Or. Phil. 21 *quare ita censeo* e.q.s), and notice that it is the custom in speaking before the senate to end, not with a glowing peroration, but with a concise recital of what the speaker proposes. Beside the phrase *censeo*, which Sallust employs, *mihi placet*, *decerno*, or *decernendum censeo* are sometimes used. If a speaker does not bring forward any proposal, he concludes by stating his concurrence in that of this or that previous speaker.

publicandas eorum pecunias] i.e. all their property. Cic. in Cat. 4. 5. 10 *adiungit* (Caesar) *etiam publicationem bonorum.*

per municipia] S. omits a detail which Cicero gives in Cat. 4. 4. 8 *adiungit gravem poenam municipiis si quis eorum vincula ruperit.*

Ch. **52, 1. ceteri verbo alius alii varie adsentiebantur**] 'expressed their concurrence' (that they would without rising from their seats, saying simply e. g. *A. Silano adsentior*—cp. Cic. Ep. 5. 2. 9; Liv. 27. 34) in one or other of the *sententiae*. There were at present only two—those of Silanus and Caesar, unless the proposal of Nero is to be counted in. But before Nero came Cicero: the consul, or indeed any acting magistrate, could speak wherever he chose in the debate. *Varie* expresses the irregular way in which the voting (?) went, now one after another going the same way, now succeeding senators see-sawing between the two proposals.

M. Porcius Cato] Vell. 2. 35 *Hic tribunus plebis designatus, et adhuc admodum adolescens* (32)...*paene inter ultimos interrogatus sententiam tanta vi animi atque ingenii invectus est in coniurationem ut ardore oris orationem omnium lenitatem suadentium societate consilii suspectam fecerit.*

2\. Perhaps from Dem. Or. Olynth. 3 *ad init.* *Οὐχὶ ταὐτὰ παρίσταταί μοι γιγνώσκειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τε εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἀποβλέψω καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἀκούω κτλ.*

4\. **nam cetera malificia**] Wirz quotes Lyk. 1. 126 *τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἀδικημάτων ὑστέρας δεῖ τετάχθαι τὰς τιμωρίας, προδοσίας καὶ δήμου καταλύσεως προτέρας κτλ.*

6. **de vectigalibus**] J. 31. 25 *non peculatus aerari factus est neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae.*

7. **saepe numero...multa verba in hoc ordine feci**] Sallust, who was himself a senator and of course acquainted with the procedure of the senate, represents Cato as having often spoken in the meetings of that body, while he was simply *quaestorius.* That then is one among many proofs that the theory that the so-called *pedarii* had not the right of speaking in the senate is wrong (Willems, *Le Sénat*, 1. 142). There is little room for doubt as to the *pedarii*, but can Cato, who was only 32 years old, have already taken up the character of mentor so often? Sallust perhaps commits an anachronism in his desire to make Cato's speech thoroughly representative of the man's character, as it showed itself in his career as a whole.

8. **animo meo**] 'inclination', cp. 58. 6 *diutius in his locis esse, si maxume animus ferat,...egestas prohibet.* What is *animus* in Cato, is *lubido* in others.

fecissem] *qui* in a causal sense with subj. perhaps only here in S., but *utpote qui*, in the one place in which it is used (57. 4) is followed by the subj. *utpote qui magno exercitu*...sequeretur. *quippe qui* as has already been stated always takes the indicative in S.

gratiam fecissem] Fr. *faire grâce de.*

9. **opulentia neglegentiam tolerabat**] Is *opulentia* nom. or abl.? 37. 7 *praeterea iuventus, quae in agris manuum mercede inopiam toleraverat*; 53. 5 *res publica magnitudine sua imperatorum atque magistratuum vitia sustentabat.* These passages point to its being the abl., but the nom. is easier.

10. **imperium...haec**] Cp. 51. 42 *imperium...ea.*

11. **hic mihi quisquam...nominat**] 'The thought—under these circumstances nobody should talk of forbearance and pity—is turned into an exclamation of disgust' (Jacobs-Wirz) —hence *quisquam.* It might be an improvement, though it is not necessary, to put a note of interrogation after *nominat*: Cato pauses for a reply, but, getting none, continues with increased indignation.

vera vocabula rerum] Cp. 38. 2 ff.

12. **furibus aerari**] Cp. Cicero's energetic expression ad Att. 1. 16. 11 *illa contionalis hirudo aerarii, misera ac ieiuna plebecula.*

13. **credo**] For the parenthetical use of the verb cp. Cic. in Cat. 1. 2. 5 *si (te) interfici iussero, credo, erit verendum mihi*

e. q. s. Caesar, B. G. 3. 70. 1 *Pompeius insidias timens, credo, quod haec praeter spem acciderant, munitionibus appropinquare non audebat.*

16. **sin**] P and V have *si*. The alteration seems hardly necessary, and Jordan himself is content with *si* in 58. 9 *si vincimus*...si *metu cesserimus.*

18. **paululum modo**] Some editors prefer the reading of V *paulum modo*, for the expression is not found elsewhere, but either *paululum* alone or *paulum modo*, and S. himself writes J. 93. 4 *ilex...paulum modo prona.*

20. **si ita res esset**] '*ita* res *est*' is old-fashioned, says Kvíčala, for *ita est*, Plaut. Most. 4. 4. 40 *haec res sic est ut narro tibi.* The *res* is omitted in 51. 11 *non ita est.* J. 85. 42 (Marius' speech) *verum non ita est.*

21. **quae nobis nulla sunt**] J. 86. 3 *homini potentiam quaerenti egentissumus quisque opportunissumus, cui neque sua cara, quippe quae nulla sunt*, e. q. s. Or. Lep. 9 *itaque illa quies et otium cum libertate—nulla sunt.* The use belongs to the language of the people.

23. **eo fit ut impetus fiat in vacuam rem publicam**] Cp. J. 41. 5 *ita omnia in duas partis abstracta sunt, res publica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata.* Schmalz quotes the legal maxim *res nullius cedit occupanti*, and Jacobs-Wirz Cornif. ad Her. 4. 29. 40 *necesse est, cum constet istum fundum nostrum fuisse, ostendas te aut vacuum possedisse, aut usu tuum fecisse ...: vacuum, cum ego adessem, possidere non potuisti.*

24. **coniuravere...incendere**] The constr. does not occur before S. Cp. Hor. Od. 1. 15. 7 *coniurata tuas rumpere nuptias.* S. puts the inf. also with *hortari dehortari monere postulare.*

supra caput est] Cicero uses the expression once ad Q. f. 1. 2. 6 *ecce supra caput homo levis et sordidus.*

25. **quid...deprensis hostibus faciatis**] The dative, as perhaps in 46. 2; Jacobs-Wirz takes it to be abl. Cic. Verr. 2. 16. 40 *quid hoc homine facias.* Cp. C. 55. 2; J. 85. 17 *quod si iure me despiciunt, faciant idem maioribus suis.*

27. **ne ista...convortat**] *ne* = *dummodo ne* as above § 12; but it is better to stop *dimittatis—Ne (nae)* 'no doubt—would be turned into', or *ne* prohibitive 'look to it lest'. *convortat* is reflexive, J. 85. 9 *mihi...bene facere iam ex consuetudine in naturam vortit.* "Do you pity them, that's my advice—the poor young men have been led astray by ambition--and dismiss them with arms in their hands too. Well, (all I can tell you

is) that clemency and pity of yours when once they have got arms would soon land you in a piteous plight. True it's a bad business in itself, but as for you you do not fear it—is that what you would say? Say rather you are in utter terror (but you can't bestir yourselves)'.

29. **prospera omnia cedunt**] There is no need with Jacobs-Wirz to read *prospere* with P^1 because of J. 63. 1 *cuncta prospere eventura*, and C. 26. 5 *neque petitio neque insidiae... prospere cessere*, for it goes on *quae occulte temptaverat* aspera foedaque *evenerant*. Liv. has both *prosperum evenire* 42. 28 and *prospere evenire* 5. 51. 5.

30. **A. Manlius Torquatus bello Gallico**] The story is alluded to in C. 9. 4. There is a double mistake here, for according to all authorities (Liv. 8. 7; Cic. Gell. Flor.) his name was *Titus*, and it was not in the Gallic war 393 (361) but in the Latin war 414 (340) that the incident occurred. It was in the Gallic war that he got his name Torquatus. Dietsch reads *T* for *A* but does not propose to alter *Gallico*. It is better to leave both alone.

32. **cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat**] 'makes amends for'. Liv. 1. 26. 5 *atrox visum id facinus* (*Horatii*) *patribus plebique, sed recens meritum facto obstat.*

33. **iterum**] i.e. *si nunc primum ad patriae perniciem coniuravit, neque antea iam pestifera consilia iniit.* Kritz.

34. **Gabinio Statilio**] V reverses the order. The reason is plain: elsewhere Statilius is put before Gabinius 17. 4, 43. 2, 46. 3, 55. 6, clearly because Statilius was (we do not know how) a more important person in himself or in the conspiracy than Gabinius. He is also put before Gabinius in the Sctum (Cic. in Cat. 3. 6. 64). Perhaps the greater importance of Statilius is shown by 44. 1. If as is probable V is wrong here, it yet shows that the compiler of the selection from which the MS is derived was a very diligent reader of Sallust.

35. **C. cum exercitu faucibus urget, alii intra moenia atque in sinu urbis sunt hostes**] Cp. Cic. in Cat. 1. 2. 5 *castra sunt in Italia contra populum Romanum* in Etruriae faucibus *conlocata...eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium* intra moenia atque adeo in senatu *videmus*, e. q. s. It is not unlikely that this passage was running in Sallust's head, but Linker went too far when he proposed to further assimilate the two passages by reading here '*cum exercitu* in *faucibus* Etruriae agit, *alii intra moenia atque in* senatu *sunt hostes*'. The metaphor with *faucibus* is not unusual (Plaut. Cas. 5. 3. 4 *ita manu-*

festo faucibus urget. Cic. p. Cluent. 31. 84 *istam conciliationem gratiae Staienus tum recenti re, cum faucibus premeretur, excogitavit.* Val. Max. 5. 3. 2 *qui pestifera Ti. Gracchi manu faucibus adprehensam rem publicam strangulari non passus est*). Another critic (M. Hertz) proposed to strike out *intra moenia atque*, supposing that *intra moenia* was a gloss, suggested by § 25 above, to explain *in sinu*, and that *atque* was added to make the gloss at home in the text. With more reason he proposed to strike out *urbis*, for the MS V omits it. But the compiler of the selection from which this MS was copied undoubtedly took liberties with the text, and Jordan rightly replies to these proposals, that *in sinu* by itself would be too poetical an expression, and would mean rather 'fondled in our arms' (cp. Cic. in Cat. 2. 10. 22). The *urbis* is no less necessary than *intra moenia* to fix the meaning of *sinu* (the senate). Jordan quotes Aurelius Victor, *inter implana urbis atque ipso sinu* (sc. *urbis*) *praetoriae manus acie deletae*, and Tac. H. 3. 38 *in urbe ac sinu cavendum hostem*, and Vogel still more aptly from Hegesippus, a great imitator of Sallust,—*in medio urbis sinu*: *in urbis sinum*: *in medio sinu urbis id est Romano foro.*

36. **quare ego ita censeo**] The transposition *ita ego* which is found in some MSS is due to the initiative of the compiler of the selection from which V is derived. The earlier position of *ego*, after the first word in the sentence is very common in Sallust, cp. *atque ego haec* 51. 35; *longe mihi alia* 52. 2; *sed ego haec omitto* 52. 24; *sed mihi multa legenti* 53. 2; *compertum ego habeo* 58. 1; etc. Cp. J. 85. 1, where Marius begins his speech, as Cato the Censor often did, with the words *Scio ego Quirites.* It has been proposed to strike out the *ego* here. Caesar says (51. 43) *sed ita censeo*, Philippus (Or. 21) *quare ita censeo.* But the *ego* is probably intended to be characteristic of Cato's speaking. Cp. § 5 *vos ego appello*; § 34 *nam quid ego.*

Sallust's account of Cato's speech is probably a far less accurate account than his version of Caesar's. It is not only that it is the speech of an older man than Cato then was (see §§ 7, 8) and that the style is completely Sallustian, but that whatever we are told by other authorities that Cato said is absent from Sallust's pages. Plutarch (Cato 23, Caes. 8, Cic. 21) says that he sharply rebuked Silanus for his change of view, that he inveighed at length against Caesar, and Cicero (ad Att. 12. 21. 1) declares that Cato extolled him to the skies, for one thing and another. Of all that we hear nothing from Sallust, except a short insinuation against Caesar. This says Plutarch (Cat. 23) is the only extant speech of Cato's, for Cicero's short-hand writers took it down. Sallust however was it may be supposed anxious to make the speech as far as

possible an exposition of Cato's character and political views, to lead up to the contrasted portraitures of two admirable Roman types.

Sallust is so anxious to get on to contrast the characters of the two speakers that he cuts the rest of the sitting short. The consul could apply the *clôture* when he liked, and it is not likely that the *perrogatio* was continued further after Cato's speech, a speech which put the senate into a great state of exaltation and a good deal of confusion. Further debate however arises about Cato's proposal, either before the voting or in the subsequent drawing up of the decree. Cato seems to have included in his proposal that the property of the condemned should be confiscated. To that Caesar vigorously objected; it was not fair, he said, that the mild part of his proposal should be rejected and the severe retained. When the senators could not be persuaded, Caesar called upon the tribunes to intervene, but they refused. Cicero however took upon himself to omit the proposed confiscation. As Caesar was leaving the senate-house armed equites draw their swords upon him. But Curio throws his toga over Caesar, and Cicero too gives them a sign to desist. (Suetonius' (Jul. 14) account, that the equites entered the senate-house and forced Caesar with these drawn swords to desist from further opposition, is probably incorrect.)

Ch. **53, 1. sententiam eius laudant**] Willems quotes this passage to show that senators of especial authority were allowed to rise again to express in a few words their opinion of a discourse that had just been delivered. But surely all that is meant is that Cato is congratulated by his admirers, and that senators express to one another their admiration of the speech —all in a quite informal and probably noisy way. Liv. 9. 8. 13 *cum omnes, laudibus modo prosequentes virum, in sententiam eius pedibus irent* e. q. s.

virtutem animi] This pleonastic *animi* is very common. C. 49. 4 *animi mobilitate*, 51. 4 *lubidinem animi*, 58. 2 *timor animi*, 61. 4 *ferociam animi*, J. 4. 4 *iudicium animi*.

2. **tanta negotia sustinuisset**] J. 85. 3 *neque me fallit quantum cum maximo beneficio vostro negoti sustineam*, 'to support', 'to render possible'. Cp. Thuc. 1. 141. 4 *αἱ δὲ περιουσίαι τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ βίαιοι ἐσφοραὶ ἀνέχουσι.* The connection is:—it was not what are often thought the sources of greatness—not great armies or resources, not the continuous favour of fortune, not eloquence nor military glory —but a constant supply of a few great men in each succeeding generation.

3. **legionibus hostium**] So J. 79. 4 the legions of Carthage and of Cyrene. J. 49. 2 (Jug.) *singulas turmas et manipulos circumiens.*

parvis copiis] Not military *forces*—but *resources.*

ante Romanos fuisse] a phrase that is not used by Cicero. Cp. Liv. 35. 14 *Quidnam tu diceres, si me vicisses? tum me vero, inquit, et ante Alexandrum et ante Pyrrhum et ante omnes alios imperatores esse.* Tac. A. 13. 14 *nullos mortalium armis aut fide ante Germanos esse.*

4. **paucorum civium**] Perhaps S. got this view from Cato; see Cic. de r. publ. 2. 1 *is dicere solebat ob hanc causam praestare nostrae civitatis statum ceteris civitatibus, quod in illis singuli fuissent fere, qui suam quisque rem publicam constituissent legibus atque institutis suis* (Minos Lycurgus Solon etc.)... *nostra autem res publica non unius esset ingenio, sed multorum, nec una hominis vita, sed aliquot constituta saeculis et aetatibus*, e. q. s.

5. **sicuti effeta parente**] So read two unimportant MSS of the 13th and 15th centuries (acc. to Dietsch). The sense will then be 'as when a mother is past child-bearing'. Jordan thinks this reading sufficiently supported by Plin. Ep. 6. 21 *sum ex eis qui mirantur antiquos, non tamen, ut quidam, temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio. Neque enim quasi lassa et effeta natura nihil iam laudabile parit.* And Apuleius Apol. 76 *ceterum uxor iam propemodum vetula et effeta* (v. l. *effecta*) *nunc demum contumeliis abnuit.* But the *parentum* of the mass of MSS points to some word having been left out—*virtute* Allen (from the line below), *aetate* Dietsch, but more probably *vi* (*effeta vi parentum*) Ritschl—'as if the vigour of their ancestors were exhausted'.

haud sane quisquam Romae virtute magnus fuit] Jacobs-Wirz suggests that this is a hit at Pompeius Magnus, of whom S. says H. 3. 7 *Set Pompeius a prima adulescentia sermone fautorum similem fore se credens Alexandro regi facta consultaque eius quidem aemulator erat.* He even described him, it seems, as *oris probi animo inverecundo.* H. inc. rel. 75.

6. **obtulerat...fuit**] Epistolary tenses.

Ch. **54**, 1. **genus**] The Julian was a very old patrician *gens.* The plebeian Porcian *gens* was first ennobled by Cato the Censor.

aetas] Caesar was born in 654 (100), but see 49. 2 (p. 136). Cato in 659 (95).

eloquentia] On Caesar's cp. Quint. 10. 1. 114. *C. vero Caesar si foro tantum vacasset, non alius ex nostris contra Ciceronem nominaretur. Tanta in eo vis est, id acumen, ea concitatio, ut illum eodem animo dixisse, quo bellavit, appareat; exornat tamen haec omnia mira sermonis, cuius proprie studiosus fuit, elegantia.* On Cato Cic. Brut. 31. 118 *unum excipio Catonem, in quo perfectissimo Stoico summam elegantiam non desiderem.*

alia alii] *alii* though of two, for *alia* means 'different', and *alia alteri* is not admissible. Liv. 1. 21. 6 *ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt.*

2. **mansuetudine et misericordia]** Qualities which Cato ridicules. 52. 27.

severitas] Cic. ad Att. 1. 18. 7 *unus est, qui curet constantia magis et integritate, quam ut mihi videtur, consilio aut ingenio, Cato*; id. 2. 1. 8 *nam Catonem nostrum non tu amas plus quam ego; sed tamen ille optimo animo utens et summa fide nocet interdum rei publicae; dicit enim tamquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ, non tamquam in Romuli faece.*

3. **ignoscundo]** Sallust had himself personal experience of Caesar's forgiveness, if it is of our Sallust that Cicero is speaking in ad Att. 11. 20. 2 *etiam Sallustio ignovit* (perhaps for his ill-success in restoring order among the mutinous legions in Campania). In the following *miseris perfugium* it is in Sallust's mind also how he betook himself to Caesar, after his expulsion from the senate.

4. **in animum induxerat]** 'had from the first made up his mind to'. The expression *in animum inducere* is used this once in S. It is common in Plaut. and Ter. and after in Livy etc.—an archaism perhaps. Cicero writes *animum inducere*, with one exception, Cic. p. Sull. 30. 83 (where Reid would strike out the *in*).

neglegere...denegare] Hist. inf., otherwise, as Schmalz says, what should appear as the natural outcome of his character will be put down to calculation.

bellum novom] Not such wars as those of Sulla Crassus Pompeius for instance, who partly did but reap what predecessors had sown. The wars in Gaul, Germany, Britain were wars on new ground.

6. **illum sequebatur]** Schmalz compares Cic. T. D. 1. 45. 109 *gloria virtutem tanquam umbra sequitur.* Seneca Ep. 79. 13 *gloria umbra virtutis est: etiam invitam sequitur.* Such expressions with *sequi* are common in S. Cp. 3. 2, Or. Phil. 9

malos praemia secuntur, id. 21 *fortuna meliores sequitur.* A personal object is always put, so that the *illum* of the text, and not Dietsch's *illa* must be right. For the change of subject cp. J. 14. 16 *si omnia quae aut amisi aut ex necessariis advorsa facta sunt.* 101. 5 *cum peditibus, quos Volux ... adduxerat neque in priore pugna itinere morati adfuerant.*

Ch. **55**, 1. **in Catonis sententiam discessit**] i.e. voted in favour of Cato's proposal.

ratus] 'thinking'. *Ratus*, from Sallust onward, served as a substitute for the wanting present participle of *reor*. Cp. J. 69. 1 *Vagenses ubi animum advortere ad se vorsum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum esse rati, portas clausere, deinde...rursum Iugurtham arbitrati cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt.* Many other past participles of deponents are used aoristically, without it being implied that the action they express precedes that of the principal verb. Cp. *arbitrati* in the above quotation, and *veritus* in J. 15. 5 *veritus...ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubidine continuit.* There is a somewhat similar use of the present participle in J. 113. 1 *haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit*, and J. 35. 10 *sed postquam Roma egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse* e. q. s.

antecapere] J. 21. 3 *maxime festinans tempus legatorum antecapere.* Cicero would write *antevertere* or *praevertere* for *antecapere.*

triumviros] The *tresviri capitales.*

quae [ad] supplicium postulabat] As to *ad* Dietsch says '*cum defendi posse videatur, nolo suspiciones sequi*'. Is it possible that *consul* can be the subject to *postulabat?*

2. **ceteris**] Cp. 52. 25.

3. **Tullianum**] is described in Burn's *Rome and the Campagna* (p. 81) and in Mommsen. It was originally a well-house, as the name denotes, and there is still a spring in it (hence Jugurtha's exclamation). "It was roofed by layers of peperino-stone so placed that each overlaps the layers beneath", Burn—(that is described by Sall. *camera lapideis fornicibus iuncta*). At a later time another vaulted chamber was built over it, and the stone which closed the vaulted roof of the lower chamber removed—hence *demissus. Ubi paululum ascenderis ad laevam* is far from clear. If Jordan, the leading authority on Roman topography, is undecided between *ascenderis* and *descenderis*, who is to decide? Merivale says, "The phrase *ubi ascenderis* seems to imply some common passenger's

route and refers probably to the ascent of the street in which the *carcer* stood from the forum, which agrees with existing localities". But it surely refers to how you are to find the 'Tullianum' when you have entered the *carcer*.

5. **vindices rerum capitalium**] Mommsen (R. S. 1^2. 581. n.) takes the *v. r. c.* to be the *tresviri capitales* mentioned above (cp. Cic. de Legg. 3. 3. 6 *vincula sontium servanto, capitalia vindicanto*), and concludes that these officers strangled Lentulus with their own hands. Is it possible that these dignified chiefs of the police, who had concurrent authority with the aediles (Liv. 25. 1), who had 'viatores' attending them in the streets, should have had to sink to be executioners? Mommsen maintains that they had this disagreeable duty to perform only when the criminals were men of high position or women. The evidence (Val. Max. 5. 4. 7; Tac. A. 5. 9) seems somewhat insufficient. Still, however that may be, the *fregere* need not any more imply that they did it themselves, than it is meant in 51. 29 that the Thirty Tyrants killed their victims with their own hands.

6. **exitium vitae**] It is proposed (by F. Vogel) to alter *exitium* to *exitum*. For the phrase is not found elsewhere, and indeed *vitae* is superfluous. And there are the following apparent imitations of S. in Augustine (*dignum moribus factisque suis exitum reperiunt*), and in Hegesippus — a constant imitator—*hic tali dignus exitu fuit*; *exitum vitae invenire*; *ita dignum meritis suis vitae exitum tulit*. The MS authority however for *exitium* is too strong, and the explanation of the word probably is that it does not mean 'miserable end', but that *exitium = exitum*. *Exitium antiqui ponebant pro exitum: nunc exitium pessimum exitum dicimus.* Festus.

Ch. **56, 1. duas legiones**] the ordinary number for a consul, which Catiline claimed to be. The regular number of a legion was 6000. There were 10 cohorts to the legion. His cohorts then were at first only 100 men strong.

2. **voluntarius aut ex sociis**] The *voluntarii* are those who were *extra coniurationem* (39. 5): with *sociis* supply *coniurationis*.

3. **pars quarta**] '*only* a quarter'. So *alii* e. q. s. (below), 'a few had only, etc.'

4. **adventabat**] 'was on the march'.

ad urbem modo in Galliam vorsus] *Vorsus* is always accompanied by *in* or *ad* in Sallust, with one exception: J. 19. 3 *quem locum Aegyptum vorsus finem imperi habuere Carthaginienses.*

sperabat propediem magnas copias sese habiturum, si Romae socii incepta patravissent] There is a decided gap in the narration here. Lentulus (44. 6) and the other conspirators in the city (48. 4) appear to have expected Catiline to come into the neighbourhood of Rome before they struck out, while Catiline in this passage and below (58. 4) expected that they should not wait for him but strike immediately and send him further supplies.

5. **servitia...cuius**] A relative or demonstrative pronoun in the plural referring to a singular collective noun is common, but the converse, as we have it here, is hardly to be paralleled. Compare, however, Or. Mac. 15 *ne vos ad virilia* illa *vocem,* quo *tribunos plebei, modo patricium magistratum,...maiores vostri paravere.* Liv. 42. 8 bona*que ut eis, quicquid* eius *recuperari possit, reddantur* (under the influence of the formula—*quod eius facere poteris*). Thuc. 1. 80. 3 *ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν; ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἔτι πλέον τούτου ἐλλείπομεν.* The fact that both *servitium* and *servitia* are used in this sense will perhaps explain the slip. Kvíčala, as the only parallels that can be produced are of things and not of persons, makes *coniurationis* the antecedent, comparing for the order J. 14. 15 *fratri, quem minume decuit, propincus per scelus vitam eripuit* (where *propincus* is the antecedent to *quem*).

alienum suis rationibus e. q. s.] Cp. 44. 6. Catiline's scruples with regard to the slaves are merely as to employing them in his *army.* He had no hesitation over getting them to cooperate in the general pillage (cp. 24. 4, etc.).

Ch. **57**, 1. **postquam...pervenit**] *pervenit* is the perfect. When *postquam* is followed by the historical present in the Catiline, the verb is always *video.* In the Jugurtha other verbs are so used—*intellegit putat volt comperit instruit urgent,* etc. Note also that in S. the *postquam*-clause never follows the principal clause, though that position is not rare in Tacitus.

reliquos] How many of the 12,000 were left after this desertion S. does not say. Appian talks of there having been 20,000 at the battle, though only a quarter of them, he says, were regularly armed. Perhaps Dio (37. 40) is not far wrong when he gives the number as 3000. Metellus had (§ 2) 18,000 men, and Antonius (Dio 37. 39) was stronger than Metellus in numbers.

in agrum Pistoriensem] Pistoria (Pistoja) in N. Etruria, on the southern slopes of the Apennines.

in Galliam transalpinam] Dietsch brackets *Transalpinam*; and it is certainly curious, for Cisalpine Gaul has first to be

traversed and the Alps crossed, before Catiline could get (and that was no doubt his object) to the Allobroges. Perhaps it was this word which led Appian astray, who says (2. 7) Κατι-λίναν δὲ ἐς δισμυρίους τε ἀγείραντα, καὶ τούτων τεταρτημόριον ὁπλίσαντα ἤδη, καὶ ἐς Γαλατίαν ἐπὶ ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀπίοντα, Ἀντώνιος ὁ ἕτερος ὕπατος ὑπ' Ἀλπείοις καταλαβών, οὐ δυσχερῶς ἐκράτησεν ἀνδρὸς κτλ.

3. **igitur ubi iter eius e.q.s.**] But how could Metellus have made his way from Picenum to the egress of the pass in no more time than it took Catiline *magnis itineribus* to get from the neighbourhood of Faesulae to Pistoria—a distance of only about 25 miles? Hagen supposes that the facts which S. has confused are, that Catiline as soon as he was aware of Antonius' approach wished to get over the mountains to Picenum, where the conspirators had been active for some time (27. 1; 42. 1), but that when he found Metellus posted at the foot of the hills he determined to try to escape along the valley of the Arno *viâ* Pistoria, but that at that place he found Antonius awaiting him. But it is hardly necessary to go so far afield to make Sallust's account probable. As has been already noted on 30. 5, Metellus' command was not confined to Picenum but included also the territory of the Senones Galli, extended, that is, north of Ariminum, and he did not surely wait for deserters' information to block the exit of Pistoria to the north. —Catiline would have the choice of two passes from Pistoria to Gallia Cisalpina, the one by the Reno valley to Bologna—the modern railway route, the other *viâ* Pievepelago along the Scoltenna valley to Modena—the Via Estense. It was by the former probably that Catiline intended to go. We must suppose that Antonius made arrangements to prevent Catiline escaping down the Arno valley and along the coast to Genoa and over the Bocchetta.

qua illi descensus erat] '=*descendendum erat.* So in old Latin *nunc mihi cautio est=cavendum est*: and the verbal substantives in *-sus* and *-tus* share all the peculiarities of those in *-tio*'. Schmalz.

4. **utpote qui magno exercitu locis aequioribus expeditus [in fuga] sequeretur**] The reading of the MSS *expeditos in fuga* is nonsense. The error, whatever it is, is of long standing, for Priscian quotes it so (but with *fugam*). One cannot be sure that the readings of some late MSS *expeditus* and of one *expedito* are anything but attempts to mend the passage. And as to Jordan's brackets, it is more likely that something fell out than that *in fuga* was put in. The reading *expeditus in fuga* has found very general acceptance. *Expeditus* of course

goes with *locis aequioribus*. For *sequi* used absolutely instances are not wanting (J. 55. 8, *insequi* J. 50. 5). But can *in fuga* mean as Jacobs-Wirz puts it *si fuga hostium facta esset*—'if Catiline should take to flight'—the explanation suggested by Kortte and followed by Kritz and others? There is 2. 9 *in magna copia rerum*, 35. 2 *in novo consilio*, J. 14. 11 *in imperio vostro*, 31. 24 *in tam divorsis mentibus*—but always with an adjective. But were it possible, should we have the right sense? Dietsch (1859) suggested *expeditus impeditos in fuga*. Ritschl prefers *tardatos*, thinking the antithesis too forced. (But Sisenna writes *inermos armati, impeditos expediti...interficiunt.*) The sense then will be—Not only was the way barred in one direction by Metellus, but Antonius too was close upon him in another, and no wonder, for Antonius had an army large enough to allow him to hurry on disregarding stragglers, and could move quickly in pursuit over level ground, while Catiline in his flight was struggling over rough mountain paths.

5. **praesidi**] The 'reinforcements' which he expected from Rome, cp. 58. 4 *dum ex urbe praesidia opperior*.

Ch. **58**, 1. **neque ex ignavo**] The first *neque* not connective, but the clause it introduces gives an explanation without copula. 2. 3, 11. 3.

2. **patere**] in a different sense below, § 9; here 'to be displayed'.

3. **advocavi**] not 'I *have* summoned you'—but hist. perf. *quo...ut* the same variation in 33. 1.

5. **quo loco**] Some, but not the best, MSS have *quo in loco*. This is the only place where *locus* is used in a figurative sense in S. Caesar and Livy would perhaps put the preposition in this phrase, Cicero not. When *loco* is accompanied with a relative or demonstrative pronoun, *idem*, or *ullus*, S. puts the preposition elsewhere.

iuxta mecum omnes intellegitis] *Iuxta mecum* is found only in Plautus. Fronto takes the phrase from S. when he writes *iuxta mecum scire* and *iuxta cum eo carere balneo*—either an archaic or conversational phrase.

9. **si vincimus**] Cp. *si metu* cesserimus below—'if we win, as we mean to'.

commeatus abunde] *Commeatus* is not the genitive (21. 1 *quibus mala abunde omnia erant*. J. 63. 2 *alia omnia abunde erant*), and is singular (J. 43. 3 *conmeatum affatim*, sc. *parare*), and *erit* must be supplied, as *esse* in Or. Mac. 26 *abunde libertatem rati quia tergis abstinetur*.

11. **non eadem nobis et illis necessitudo impendet**] Kritz says we have a kind of zeugma, for the sense is *quae nobis impendet necessitudo illis nulla est.* Is it not rather: they are in arms under the orders of others fighting in a cause which is not their own?

17. **audacia pro muro habetur**] Cp. 1. 4 *virtus clara aeternaque habetur.*

20. **nam**] Supply 'don't be alarmed at their superior numbers for'.

The battle of Pistoria was fought at the beginning of the year 692 (62). Dio 37. 39 *ἐν ἀρχῇ εὐθὺς τοῦ ἔτους.* According to the rectified calendar that would be probably about the beginning of December. Cic. p. Sest. 5. 12 claims for his client that had it not been for his energy *datus illo in bello esset hiemi locus*, and cp. Cic. in Cat. 2. 10. 23 *num suas secum mulierculas sunt in castra ducturi. quemadmodum autem illis carere poterunt* his praesertim iam noctibus (on 9 Nov. by the old calendar the days were then shortening).

Ch. **59,** 1. **signa canere iubet**] *Signa* is probably here subject to *canere* as in J. 94. 5: in J. 99. 1 Sall. gives both constructions *iubet, ne signa quidem canere* and *tubicines signa canere iubet.*

exaequato periculo] See note on 3. 2 *facta dictis exaequanda sunt.*

2. **nam uti planities erat inter sinistros montes et ab dextera rupe asperà**] *aspera* is acc. plur. neut. = *aspera loca* (for substantival use of *aspera* J. 89. 3 *maiora et magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est*). *Ab dextera rupe* go together and correspond to *sinistros montes.* For *ab* in this sense H. 1. 8 *omni Gallia in Rhenum atque inter mare nostrum et Oceanum, nisi qua a paludibus invia fuit, perdomita:* and for the whole clause H. 2. 18 *inter laeva moenia* (so Dietsch for *moenium*) *et dextrum flumen Turiam.* 'There was a plain lying between hills on the left and ground rendered rough by rocks on the right'. (Jacobs-Wirz explains '*ab dextera* (*erant*) *loca propter rupem aspera*'; Herzog makes *aspera* agree with *planities*; Merivale reads *rupes.*)

3. **centuriones omnis, lectos et evocatos, praeterea ex gregariis militibus optumum quemque**] Are four classes enumerated, as the older commentators supposed? Then how do for instance the *lecti* differ from *optimum quemque*? Or are there three classes—*centuriones, evocati, gregarii optimi* as Kritz

and Jacobs explain? Then the *evocati* who are not centurions are surely *gregarii*, and would Sall. write '*a*, *b*, *praeterea c*' and not rather '*a*, *praeterea b*, *ad hoc c*'? Or finally two only? That seems the most probable. But should the comma come before *omnis* (as Kvíčala), or after (as Jordan)? Better perhaps after. 'All the centurions—picked men who had served their time'. *Evocatos* is not to be taken too literally, nor *omnis* either. Catiline could not stop to call out reserve-men regularly, nor were every single one of the centurions put into the first line. (But it is impossible to suppose that *evocatos* is not used in its technical sense at all, that it means merely as Lallier says 'appelés hors de rangs'.)

Faesulanum quendam] Perhaps P. Furius 50. 4.

curare] of military command does not appear to occur before Sallust, but is common afterwards. In S. it is always accompanied by some words of place, and it is generally used absolutely, though once for variety's sake it has an object. J. 100. 2 *Sulla cum equitatu apud dextumos, in sinistra parte A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortis Ligurum curabat.* Tacitus often gives the word an object. *Cura* which Tacitus employs of subordinate military command (Hist. 2. 24 *curam peditum Paulinus equitum Celsus sumpsere*) is not used by S.

calonibus] P has *colonibus*, and as mistakes between, e.g. *omnibus* and *omnis*, *civis civibus*, *Carthaginiensis* and *Carthaginiensibus*, are not rare, it is not improbable that *colonis* is the true reading here.

propter] only here in S. in local sense.

aquilam] Cic. in Cat. 1. 9. 24 *aquilam illam argenteam... cui domi tuae sacrarium scelerum tuorum constitutum fuit.*

4. **C. Antonius pedibus aeger**] with *feigned* gout? Dio 37. 39...*προσκαταδείσας, μή πως προθύμως σφᾶς ἀγωνιζομένους ἰδὼν ἐξονειδίσῃ τι καὶ προσενέγκῃ οἱ τῶν ἀποῤῥήτων, αὐτὸς μὲν νοσεῖν προεφασίσατο.* Mommsen says it was a side-object of S. to whitewash the triumvir's uncle. His remarks on him in 21. 3 are not however very flattering.

5. **tumultus causa**] Dietsch accepts the *tumulti* of one MS, not being sure whether the unusual or old-fashioned forms found here and there in a few or a single MS are due to the officiousness of scribes or whether these old forms have been for the most part cleared away by the scribes. But the explanation of the use of *senati* does not apply here, for *tumulti causa* cannot surely be a formula.

inermis] S. uses the older form *inermus* about as often, J. 66. 3, etc.

6. **homo militaris**] Cp. 45. 2—an experienced soldier.

Ch. **60**, 1. **iubet**] After giving the signal for advance, Petreius adds the command to go *slowly—paulatim* is emphatic. Kritz and others put a comma after *iubet*—when P. had the signal sounded and ordered the cohorts to advance slowly, the enemy's army does the same.

2. **cum infestis signis**] The *cum* is very unusual, but seems to be employed because of the preceding *maxumo clamore*.

5. **tendere**] for *contendere;* cp. Cic. ad Att. 16. 5. 3 *itaque dubito an Venusiam tendam*, and the poets.

Ch. **61**, 1. **confecto proelio tum vero cerneres**] Cp. 25. 3 *pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile discerneres*.

2. **vivos**] F. Vogel proposes to strike out *vivos* on these grounds. 1. Florus writes 2. 12. 1, clearly from Sallust, *quem quis in pugnando ceperat locum eum amissa anima corpore tegebat: Catilina longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est.* 2. A scholiast on Lucan quotes the passage without *vivos*. 3. The MSS do not agree as to its position. He suggests therefore that it got in here from § 4 below, *quam habuerat vivos*. In face of this it cannot be denied that the word is suspicious; but the sentence could ill dispense with a contrast to *amissa anima*.

pugnando] For the use of the gerundive see 7. 7 *pugnando*.

3. **divorsius**] The *alis alibi stantes* which appears in Dietsch's text after this word (see critical notes), Jordan rightly takes to be a confusion with 60. 5 *alios alibi resistentis*.

4. **etiam**] 'still' as in 14. 5, *molles etiam et fluxi* (as should there be read) and Verg. A. 6. 485.

7. **incruentam**] S. seems to be the first writer to use this word. It occurs afterwards in Livy and Tacitus.

strenuissumus quisque] The superlative comes from Cato, who has also *arduissumus perpetuissumus*. Tacitus is perhaps imitating Sallust in H. 4. 69 *strenuissimi cuiusque*.

9. **laetitia maeror luctus atque gaudia agitabantur**] Cp. 48. 1 *gaudium atque laetitia*, J. 14. 15 *cum maerore et luctu*. *Laetitia* is a stronger word than *gaudium*, *maeror* than *luctus*—see the definitions in Cic. T. D. 4. 6. 13 and 4. 8. 18 *luctus = aegritudo ex eius qui carus fuerit interitu acerbo, maeror =*

aegritudo flebilis. Luctus is 'mourning for the dead', *maeror* 'grief which expresses itself in tears'. *Laetitia* is defined in Gellius (2. 27. 3) *exultatio quaedam animi gaudio efferuentior euentu rerum expetitarum*, and J. 60. 2 *clamor permixtus hortatione laetitia gemitu* is instructive. For *gaudia* 'outbursts of joy' cp. Plaut. Paenul. 5. 4. 120 *cum hac me laetitia tanta et tantis adfecistis gaudiis.* Cic. in Cat. 1. 10. 26 *hic tu qua laetitia perfruere? quibus gaudiis exultabis?* Liv. 22. 7 *feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et luctus*, 'So through all the army there was a varied stir of exultation, lamentation, mourning and rejoicing'.—Sallust lavishes his favourite *ita*, chiasmus, and *agitari* on the concluding sentence.

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[Phil. = Philologus ; RM. Rheinisches Museum.]

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